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ABSTRACT

The eight issues of the journal on literacy and literacy education contain papers on: a research project on transitional education; passive literacy among the Cheyenne; constructing a syllabus using the Gudschinsky method (in French); trends in literacy education; "indiginizing" punctuation marks; literacy acquisition among Peruvian Amazon communities; an experiment in Mayan poetry; grassroots literacy curriculum development for elementary schools; management of a community literacy and development program; perceptions of language and literacy; tone orthography and pedagogy; the lasting impact of literacy; genre-based approach to literacy; transition literacy in sub-Saharan Africa; Summer Institute of Linguistics and Bilingual Education in Peru; impact of literacy on women and development in South Asia; women's education in developing countries; an adult literacy program in northwestern Zaire; visual-auditory-tactile-kinesthetic integration; culturally-embedded literacy among the Fulani; a literacy program management training initiative in eastern Africa; Bhola's total literacy system; sheltered instruction for language minority populations; linking literacy and development; perceptions of eastern Indonesian community leaders concerning vernacular reading needs for development; orthography testing in Botswana; reading long words; biliteracy in rural settings; literacy in Africa; reading skills and attitudes; literacy on the Cavasi reservation; and Natgqu orthography. (MSE)

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NOTES ON LITERACY

VOLUME 21.1 JANUARY 1995

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NOTES ON LITERACY

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The First Language Component: A Bridging Educational Program

E. Lou Hohulin, Philippines

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E. Lou Hohulin is an R.N. and has an M.A. in Linguistics from the University of Illinois. Lou and her husband, Richard, have completed two translation projects in the Philippines. She has been Associate Director of Academic Affairs for the Philippine Branch of SIL and is currently working as an International Linguistic Consultant for SIL.

[Editor's note: This article was also translated into Vietnamese and was presented to the Language and Literature conference in Nha Trang, Vietnam in 1993 by Bus and Jean Dawson of SIL.]

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is a report of a six-year research project on transitional education which has been carried on under the direction of a Summer Institute of Linguistics – Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS), Ifugao Division consortium. The program was initiated in 1985 by Dr. Jeronimo Codamon who was the Supervisor of Hungduan District. The First Language Component Bridging Educational Program was designed to improve the test scores of elementary grade school pupils. The core hypothesis in the original pilot project was stated as follows: The child who acquires reading and writing skills in his first language with the rigorous bridging of language arts skills to the two second languages used as mediums of instruction in the Philippine school system will be more competent in all areas of study than the child who does not.

The fact that the pupils in Hungduan district are ethnic Ifugao was recognized as one of the major factors underlying their poor performance in tests. At the beginning of first grade, few Ifugao children in barrio schools know Filipino and English, the two mediums of instruction. Besides the language problems encountered by these barrio children, they also face the problem of being unfamiliar with the cultural environments in which these two languages are embedded and used because they have little access to media such as books, magazines, radio, television, and videos.

Since the bilingual policy of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports allows for the use of vernaculars as auxiliary mediums of instruction, the First Language Component program was designed to utilize this provision for the education of children belonging to the Ifugao ethnic community.

The most important consideration in the design is that a child's cognitive development is based on a close relationship between him, his language, and his culture. From birth, a child uses his eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, and feet to interact with the world about him. The information that he gains is transferred to his brain. Then, through cognitive processing, concepts are formed and stored in his mind. This is the way that a child develops a framework of knowledge in the early years of his life. He learns to recognize objects, surfaces, and colors. As time goes on, he develops concepts of space, place, size, and time. All of these early concepts play an important role in the further development of his sensorimotor activities, cognitive processing, social interaction and moral values.

By the time a child begins school, he has a fairly complete model of the world. This model of the world has been developed on the basis of his experiences within his own culture and through the medium of his first language. For the most part, his thinking and behavior in the early grades of school is most effectively mediated through his cultural model of the world and his first language.

2. THE FIRST LANGUAGE COMPONENT—BRIDGING PROGRAM

The First Language Component—Bridging Program (FLC-BP) is a bridging program, not a vernacularization program. The First Language Component (FLC) part of the name implies that the first language is just one part of the teaching-learning program and is never isolated from the teaching-learning experiences in the two primary mediums of instruction. The program is based on the pedagogical principle that teaching should proceed from the known to the unknown and is, therefore, designed to build a bridge between what a child knows and what he does not know.

Perhaps the simplest way to explain the program is to put the explanation in story form. When children enter the first grade it is as though they are standing on a high cliff overlooking a fast flowing river. Across the river on another cliff stands the first grade teacher. The cliff upon which the children stand represents what the children already know, their knowledge structures and their model of the world which have been developed on the basis of their first language and culture. The cliff upon which the teacher stands represents all that is unknown to the children—reading, writing, math, English, Filipino and *Sibika* (Civics). Since there is no bridge, the first grade teacher attempts to throw a rope across the chasm to the children on the other side. This rope represents the use of the vernacular without a planned bridging program. Even if the children can catch the rope, they still need to climb down the side of the cliff, swim across the river, and climb up the side of the cliff upon which the teacher stands—a tremendously difficult task for young children. As a result, many children will fall and be swept away by the fast current of the river. That is a metaphor for the failure to learn.

As we continue to use the bridge metaphor, we now come to the explanation of how to build the bridge. The bridge is built by utilizing the FLC methodology and instructional materials.

2.1. Methodology

The FLC methodology has three major principles. The first principle is that a child's first language should be used as an instrument for teaching and learning in Grades I and II. The second principle is that a child's cultural model of the world should be used for helping him to process perceptual information, understand concepts, and form new ones. Finally, the third principle is that new concepts and skills should be built on existing knowledge structures rather than bypassing them by using a rote-memorization methodology.

2.2. Program

The first language component is the most important part of the whole bridging program. Therefore, a full sixty-minute period is given over to teaching and learning in the first language. During this period, all concepts and skills are introduced and taught in the first language.

Since many concepts already exist in the first grade child's knowledge structure, part of the educational process is to teach a child to be able to THINK about those concepts and their relationships. The most efficient and effective way to teach a child to think in the early learning stages is in his own first language.

All concepts and skills are bridged to Filipino and English during the class periods scheduled for those subjects.

2.3. Schedule of instruction

The FLC bridging program and instructional materials are designed to cover the first two grades of school. By third grade, the bridging program has been completed, and pupils are capable of transferring to the regular school curriculum without difficulty.

2.3.1. School day schedule. The school day schedule of the FLC-BP differs only in that a First Language Communication Arts class is added to the schedule. The core content of each class is outlined below.

First Language Class

- Reading and writing skills
- Learning to use cognitive processes (thinking)
- Formation of new concepts
- Introduction of math concepts

Filipino Class

- Language learning and speaking – vocabulary and grammar
- Bridging of concepts and communication arts skills
- Minimum competency lessons

English Class

- Language learning and speaking – vocabulary and grammar
- Bridging of concepts and communication arts skills
- Minimum competency lessons

Civics and Culture Class (*Sibika*)

- Language and Culture Appreciation – Poems, Songs, Stories in the three languages as a supplement to the *Sibika* textbook

Math

- Reinforcement of math concepts
- Introducing symbols for concepts
- Bridging of concepts by learning English terms
- Practice

2.4. Instructional materials

The instructional materials which have been especially designed and created for use in the FLC-BP are built upon the three major principles of the FLC methodology – a child's first language should be used as an instrument for teaching and learning, his cultural model of the world should be used for understanding perception and concepts, and new concepts and skills should be built on existing knowledge structures.

The basic principles of the methodology call for teaching the skills of reading, writing, and math concepts in the first language. Therefore, reading readiness and instructional materials for teaching decoding skills are in the first language of the child.

Also, math readiness instructional materials and teaching devices and aids are used for introducing math concepts in the first language.

The following instructional materials have been used in the FLC-BP:

A. Pre-reading – reading readiness
   1. Auditory discrimination: First Language sounds
   2. Visual discrimination

B. Reading – reading instructional materials: First Language

C. Trilingual and bilingual materials
   1. Trilingual grammar lessons: First Language, Filipino and English
   2. Bilingual grammar materials: First Language and English

D. Trilingual story books: First Language, Filipino, English

E. Activity and work sheets: First Language, Filipino, English
F. Rhymes, poems, songs, folktales: First Language, Filipino, English
G. English phonics
H. Math

3. BRIDGING THROUGH INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

There are two kinds of bridging done by teachers using the FLC-BP instructional materials: implicit bridging and explicit bridging.

IMPLICIT BRIDGING is done simply by using the trilingual lessons and stories in proper sequence. The teacher accomplishes implicit bridging by teaching a lesson or story first in the First Language (FL) class, then, teaching the same lesson or story in Filipino in the Filipino class and finally, teaching the same lesson or story in English in the English class. Because the content is the same in the trilingual lessons and stories, there is implicit comprehension and reinforcement for the pupils. The only way the implicit bridging might fail is if a teacher takes a Filipino or English lesson or story and attempts to teach it in isolation from the FL. All trilingual lessons or stories are designed to be taught in the FL, followed by Filipino and then, English.

EXPLICIT BRIDGING is done by the teacher when she points out the differences in concepts, vocabulary, and grammatical structure in the three languages. The teacher must do more explicit bridging in the English Communication Arts class since there are many and greater differences between the first languages of Filipino children and English than there are between the vernaculars and Filipino.

4. CONCEPT BRIDGING AND THINKING

Early concept bridging is done through pictures that match vocabulary and the content of lessons and stories. From the beginning of a child's learning of Filipino and English, he is trained to recognize the fact that languages have different words for the same concept and his learning to think in the two second languages is built on that foundation. While keeping his concepts and the names for those concepts in his first language stable in his mind, he learns to attach two other names to the concepts which form his basic knowledge structure and world view.

For example, a Tuwali-speaking child already has the concept of a dog in his mind, and that concept has the name *ahu* in his first language. Then, as his teacher uses the trilingual instructional materials, the child learns that in Filipino he calls that concept *asu* and in English, he calls it a *dog*. Instead of memorizing words in Filipino and English which may or may not be attached to concepts in his mind, the child understands the words he learns because he has attached them to concepts which are already a part of his knowledge structure.

5. LANGUAGE SKILLS BRIDGING

Language decoding skills are easily bridged to the two second languages. The skills of recognizing sounds, symbols, and symbol combinations are easily transferred to Filipino because there are so many common sounds and symbols. It is a simple matter for the teacher to point out these similarities and then, introduce the few sounds and symbols in Filipino which are not included in the FL orthography. More time must be taken in bridging language decoding skills to English because (1) there are symbols that the pupils will recognize but these symbols have more than one sound in English, e.g., English vowels; (2) there are sounds that the pupils can discriminate but these sounds have more than one symbol in English, e.g., *k* and *s* sounds which are both symbolized by *c*; (3) there are sounds and symbols in English which do not exist in the FL, e.g., *f*, *v*, *x*; (4) there are sound and symbol combinations in English which do not exist in the FL, e.g., *th*, *ou*.

Even though the teacher will need to spend time in bridging decoding skills to English, the pupils will have foundational decoding skills upon which to add the different and new sounds, symbols, and patterns.

One final important statement about the FLC-BP materials and their use is that the developers of this program do not intend for the FLC-BP instructional materials to supersede or displace other curriculum materials available to first and second grade teachers.

Instead the materials are intended to be used as a part of the bridge to prepare pupils to use the regular curriculum materials.

6. DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

The first research project, a Beginning Reading Pilot Project, was inaugurated at the beginning of the 1985–86 school year in Hungduan District, Ifugao Division, Region II and continued through the 1986–87 school year. Two experimental classes were involved in the project, one at Maggok Elementary School and one at Hapao Elementary School. Two control classes were also involved, one at Hapao and one at Bokiawan.[1]

6.1. Personnel involved in project

Experimental Class Teachers:	Mrs. Flora Camhol, Maggok School and Mrs. Francisca Habbiling, Hapao School
2 Control Class Teachers	
Principal:	Mr. Luis Tindaan (1985–86)
	Mr. Paul Camhol (1986–87)
District Supervisor:	Mr. Jeronimo Codamon (1985–86)
	Mr. Luis Tindaan (1986–87)
Division Superintendent:	Mrs. Dolores Codamon (OIC, 1985–86)
	Mr. Pedro Indunan (1986–87)

Other teachers and administrators from both Hungduan and Kiangan Districts were involved in material preparation, editing, and implementation of testing and evaluation.

Summer Institute of Linguistics Consultants for the Project: Dick and Lou Hohulin; Miss Kathleen Bosscher, SIL reading specialist helped coordinate and consult in the first workshop. Miss Doris Porter, SIL Literacy Coordinator, and Miss Juana Banauwe, Translators Association of the Philippines, coordinated and consulted at the second seminar workshop.

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[1] A ten-day seminar workshop was held to train teachers in the methodology and for the preparation of instructional materials. Following the first semester of the school year a two-day seminar workshop was held for the purpose of editing and expanding instructional materials.

6.2. Evaluation and testing

Pretesting and post-testing was done. The post-testing involved three separate tests: (1) Reading Comprehension in the Three Languages (prepared and administered by project personnel); (2) English Grammar Test (prepared and administered by Division personnel); (3) Math, English, Filipino, *Sibika* Test (prepared and administered by District personnel).

Both informal evaluation and formal testing validated the pilot project hypothesis: The child who acquires reading and writing skills in his first language with the rigorous bridging of language arts skills to the two second languages used as mediums of instruction in the Philippine school system will be more competent in all areas of study than the child who does not.

6.3. Research findings

6.3.1. Research by Catiling. In her report, *A Research Report on the FLC Project*, Alice Catiling[2] states,

> Research findings established significant results indicating that the vernacular/first language is effective in bridging skills and concepts to two second languages, namely Pilipino[3] and English, and is especially effective in bridging to Pilipino among the Ifugao Grades I and II pupils of chosen Hungduan District Schools.
>
> The four groups in all the test combinations obtained positive coefficient correlation scores which are significant at .01 level of significance. This means that the individuals who

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[2] Alice Catiling is a former professor of Sociology and Psychology, University of the Philippines-Baguio and is presently Human Resources Management Officer, Department of Agriculture, Ifugao Province.

[3] Editor's note: In this directly quoted material the author chooses to use Pilipino versus Filipino.

scored high in the Tuwali test also scored high in the Pilipino test. It follows that those who scored low in the Tuwali test also scored low in the Pilipino test. The same trend applies to Tuwali to English, and Pilipino to English test. The reliability of the tests is therefore at .01 level of significance since there is consistency of scores when the pupils were examined with the same test on different languages.

Pre-Test, Post-Test—Hapao Experimental and Control Classes

It is evident that there exists a 6.89 difference between the mean scores of the experimental and control groups in their mid-test mean scores. As mentioned earlier there exists a significant difference in the variance of the mean scores. The source of variance therefore may be attributed to the intervention scheme employed by the teacher of the experimental class.

General Trend

The general trend, therefore, is that in all three areas of reading, the two experimental groups performed significantly better than the control groups. This is indicated by the mean scores discussed above and further established by the test of significant difference (F test); the interpretation was presented earlier.

Division English Test

The trend indicated by the mean scores in the Division English Grammar Test is that the two experimental groups performed better than the two control groups.

Table V

	TUWALI READING	FILIPINO READING	ENGLISH READING	ENGLISH GRAMMAR
HAPAO EXPERIMENTAL	18.25	15.83	16.58	18.00
(N = 24) Rank	1	3	2	
HAPAO CONTROL	12.29	10.83	13.04	14.42
(N = 24) Rank	2	3	1	
MAGUK EXPERIMENTAL	18.38	15.66	13.61	18.33
(N = 18) Rank	1	2	3	
BOKIAWAN CONTROL	9.05	9.15	9.6	10.72
(N = 20) Rank	3	2	1	

Considering all the results, Tuwali (the first language) is now isolated as the main source of variance in the treatment. Therefore, we conclude that the use of Tuwali in bridging concepts to Pilipino and English is effective. We may also conclude that the use of Tuwali in bridging Tuwali to Pilipino is more effective than bridging to English. This does not imply that more effective bridging cannot be done to English. This greater affect of the methodology on Pilipino scores is the result of the fact that Philippine languages are closely related in both vocabulary and grammatical structure, and therefore, easier for Filipino children to learn whereas English is completely different in both categories (Catiling 1989).

6.3.2. The second experimental project. In early February 1989, a second experimental project was initiated. The two pilot project teachers, Mrs. Francisca Habbiling and Mrs. Flora Camhol, decided to do an experiment. They prepared First Language lessons with bridging to teach objectives defined by the Minimum Learning Competencies.

The lessons they prepared were for: (1) teaching English comparatives, (2) how to answer comprehension questions 'how' and 'why', and (3) Math story problems. These lessons were then taught for four days, February 28 through March 3, by the two teachers to the Grade II Section B class of Hapao Elementary School, Hungduan, Ifugao. This class was the experimental class and the teacher, Mrs. Francesca Habbiling, had been using the FLC methodology since Grade I. The control class was the Grade II, Section A class of the Hapao Elementary School.

On the fifth day, March 4, an evaluation test was administered by the school principal. This test had been prepared by Mrs. Alice Catiling, and validated at the Kiangan Central School, Kiangan, Ifugao.

Mrs. Habbiling did a statistical analysis of test scores as a part of her master's thesis. Several important and interesting facts emerged from the statistical analysis. The information below has been excerpted from Chapter IV of her thesis.[4]

1. The Experimental class performed significantly better in the English Language (English comparatives) test than the Control Class.

2. The Control Class did so poorly in the story comprehension test (the 'how' and 'why' questions) that adequate statistical analysis could not be done for comparison with the Experimental class. The test required the writing of phrase and sentence answers which could be found in the story texts and copied.

3. Although the Experimental Class performed better than the Control Class in the Math story problem test, both classes did poorly. The Experimental Class teacher analyzed these results and believes she has isolated factors which could give direction in the modification of lessons and instruction for better results.

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[4] Actual charts and statistics are not quoted in this paper because the thesis is still in the preparation stage.

Statistical analysis and comparison was also done between the test scores of the Experimental Class and those pupils chosen to test the instrument. The results follow:

1. The Kiangan Central School pupils performed significantly better in the Math story problems than the Experimental class.

2. The Experimental Class performed significantly better than Kiangan Central School pupils in the English Language test.

The test scores for the Experimental Class and the Kiangan Central School pupils were analyzed and compared by two separate comprehension measures. The first comprehension measure was based on principles of literal comprehension. That means that during the testing, pupils excerpted and copied answers from the text based on language clues which had been taught by the teacher during the comprehension lessons. The second comprehension measure was based on principles of inferential comprehension. That means that the pupils' answers were not excerpted from the text. Instead, the pupils thought about the questions and answered them by drawing their own inferences on the basis of their interpretation of the whole text.

3. The comparison of test scores of the two classes based on the analysis of literal comprehension resulted in the conclusion that there was no significant difference in mean scores of the Kiangan Central School pupils and the Experimental Class without including inferential scores. The conclusion is that in terms of literal comprehension both groups are more or less at par.

4. However, when test scores are compared including analysis of inferential comprehension scoring, the Experimental Class performed significantly better than the Kiangan Central School pupils. This comparison implies that the Experimental Class with its First Language Component training is performing at a higher level of comprehension than the Central School pupils.

5. When total scores are considered (math, language, and comprehension) there was no significant difference in the

mean scores of the Experimental Class and the Kiangan Central School (KCS) pupils.

6. It was evident from the statistical analysis that if the Experimental class had performed better on the story problem math test, there would have been a significant difference in the total mean scores of the Experimental Class and KCS pupils. The last two statements imply that with the First Language Component Bridging Program, barrio school pupils can perform at a par with or even better than Central School pupils who are presupposed to have greater access to media, textbooks, libraries, etc. and therefore, capable of performing at a higher level than barrio school pupils.

The third research project was implemented during the two-year period 1989–91. In the Summer of 1989, Language, Culture and Reading Lecture and Laboratory courses were taught under the auspices of the Nueva Vizcaya State Polytechnic College. Sixteen teachers completed the two courses. From that group, twelve teachers from four districts in Ifugao division were chosen to participate in another experimental project. This group of teachers represented two languages, each with two dialects. Our intention was to introduce a number of variables to broaden the scope of our study.

For example, among the teachers the age varied from twenty-nine years old to fifty-three years old. The educational background of the teachers varied from a state college education to private university education. Their teaching experience varied from two years in service to twenty-nine years.

We had four district supervisors varying in experience and knowledge of the project. One supervisor had been involved from its beginning in 1985 and the other three only knew what they had been told in a brief orientation by the coordinator.

There were a great many other variables including: combination classes versus single classes, remote schools versus central schools, and large versus small classes.

Although we thought we had planned an interesting and good research project, we forgot to reckon with MURPHY'S LAW: Anything that can go wrong will go wrong. Almost nothing went as planned in the project. For that reason, we decided not to document with testing. And since neither the districts nor the division tested second grades that year (1990–91) we have no statistics for study.

However, we learned a great deal from teacher evaluations about the method and materials and what still needs to be done to improve both. Following are some brief excerpts from their written evaluations.

Positive evaluations

- The FLC methodology always makes my class lively. Each pupil has something to say and every pupil can participate.
- The instructional materials served as guides to the teacher.
- The materials helped us impart the lesson better.
- It was not foreign to teach children.
- The bridging of lessons from the First Language to English and Filipino makes learning of concepts systematic and reading comprehension automatic.
- First and second grade pupils love and enjoy reading the stories written in the FL and doing the grammar exercises especially orally.
- With the use of FLC materials the pupils have a clear understanding of the lesson presented to them.
- The methodology is good because the pupils are not hard up to understand the lessons.
- Lessons are suited to the grade level and are not boring.
- Good suggestions for teaching aids and devices.
- I like the FLC methodology because it is very effective with the pupils. The pupils enjoy it.
- My grade one pupils can grasp the lessons taught better and they have better achievement compared to my classes in previous years.
- The methodology enhances active participation even at the early stage.
- It will develop self confidence on the part of the children because they can understand.
- The instructional materials are easy enough for the children to read and understand.
- Reading stories is part of their daily activities. (Trilingual)

Negative evaluations and suggestions for improvement

- There is no teachers' manual. (Six teachers stated this in their written evaluation and others stated it orally.)
- Need books and workbooks for pupils. (Three teachers stated this.)
- Some of the stories need reediting.
- We need more Kalangoya materials.
- There was no evaluation of the project.

It was surprising to us that one teacher regretted that we had not evaluated her class. Generally, teachers would rather not have their pupils tested and evaluated. However, this teacher's statement seems to imply that she has a great deal of confidence in the effectiveness of the methodology to prepare her pupils for testing.

One of the original pilot project teachers, Mrs. Flora Camhol, who has been involved in testing and evaluating the FLC-BP throughout the six years is writing a thesis: *An Appraisal of the FLC-BP Methodology and Instructional Materials*. Following are some evaluative comments from her thesis.

> **Teachers' attitudes**
>
> While some fellow teachers showed negative attitudes toward the First Language Component Methodology (FLCM) for reasons like jealousy, the "let us wait and see" attitude, or plain personal reasons like not wanting to sacrifice extra time and effort, one exception was the grade three teacher, Mrs. Mary Dinamling, who was the next to handle the first pilot project class when they were promoted to third grade. She honestly affirmed that the pilot class which went through the methodology for two successive years, first and second grades, were far ahead and better in reading competence when compared to her previous third grade classes. Another teacher who agreed with the effectiveness of the new method was the grade six teacher, Mrs. Josephine Bungalan, who had the same first pilot class when they reached sixth grade in school year 1990–91. Although out of the seventeen there were four boys who had not started with the pilot class, it appeared in their class record that the top five of the class were from the original FLC pilot project class.

Parents observations and evaluation

Many parents expressed positive views regarding the use of the FLCM. Some said that their children enjoyed reciting the rhymes and poems, singing the songs in the FL, and doing the grammar dialogues by themselves while doing their home chores, at playtime, and before going to bed in the evenings. Some parents enjoyed listening to the stories read to them by their children because they were written in Tuwali. And some literate parents admitted that they themselves stammer in decoding their own language while their first and second grade children can read even the long Tuwali names, verbs, or adjectives with ease and fluency.

Teachers' own observations

At first, the pupils laughed and made unpleasant remarks about their language being used as an auxiliary medium of instruction. As the days went by, however, they began to enjoy and love it. In the FLC period, everybody responded. Pupil activities were not just for the bright ones. Even those below average level participated in the dialogues and oral exercise activities. There was interest and enthusiasm during their lessons. As soon as they were able to decode, one story per lesson was not enough. They were so eager to read more. The pupils asked if they could take their books home so that they could continue practice reading. Concepts in Math particularly in problem solving in the four processes (second grade) were better understood as each one was presented first in Tuwali before taking up the same lesson in the regular Math period. Clues in the FL and their equivalents in English were pointed out making problem solving easier to understand and solve, correctly choosing the proper operation.

Improvement of teacher's skills

The FLCM greatly improved the teaching skills of the teachers involved in the program for the following reasons:

(a) It challenged them all the more to study and discover for themselves the 'hows' of the new method and apply these in teaching their pupils how to read with comprehension even though at first it all seemed hazy with no definite path to follow. This made them realize that it was their duty as teachers not only to always teach by the same method which we had learned but to be eclectic and accept other methods and adapt them if it is for the benefit of our pupils and to education in general.

(b) It made them 'see' important things which before were invisible or hard to see. For example, that pointing out meaning equivalents in all three languages greatly helped the learner understand words and concepts better not only in English or Filipino but in Math as well. Another example is that reading is not only decoding letters, words, phrases, or sentences but most especially getting meaning from a printed text.

(c) It made lesson planning in Filipino and English easier as the lessons in the FLC are the same in Filipino and in English. The only difference is the language used.

(d) It sharpened their skills in teaching pupils how to read and understand any written text and improve their speaking skills in English and Filipino through the trilingual grammar lessons which are mostly in dialogue form.

(e) It encouraged them to help improve the methodology and materials by pointing out and identifying weak points, and by recommending ways to modify and adjust it to fit certain needs or conditions and requirements of the DECS like the Minimum Learning Competencies (MLC) and the usual test procedures for evaluating pupil achievement at the end of the school year.

It developed self-confidence and courage in the teachers and positive pride in their work.

Summary evaluation

The First Language Component—Bridging Program is a child-centered educational program which pupils, teachers, parents and administrators appreciate (Camhol n.d.).

7. CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of the program originally was to improve test scores of the pupils, and it can be concluded that the program did indeed do that. In addition, on the basis of the evaluations done throughout the years of research and development, certain other conclusions may be drawn about the 'spill-over' affects of the FLC-BP.

1. Pupils' attitudes toward learning were improved.
2. Teachers' professional competence was enhanced.
3. Pupils, parents, teachers and administrators developed an interest in and an enthusiasm for the program.

Also, teachers believe that the dropout rate of pupils in the program has been decreased, but no statistical study has been done as yet.

8. FUTURE DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH

8.1. Teacher training

The Nueva Vizcaya Institute of Technology, Bayombong, is planning a research M.A. program under the direction of Dr. Gloria Baguingan: M.A. in language, reading and numeracy education with specialization in contextualized learning. Some of the courses planned for that program are Developmental Psychology: Learning Styles and Teaching Strategies, Conceptual Structure and Cognitive Processing, Cultural Anthropology for Teachers, Linguistics for Teachers, Translation for Teachers, Communicative English, Supplementary Instructional Materials, and Reading Methodologies. This program is designed to update and train teachers for better implementation of the bilingual education policy. As of the end of 1994, Dr. Baguingan has trained thirty-six teachers representing seven to ten language groups.

8.2. Teachers' manual

A teachers' manual is in preparation. The manual is intended to be supplementary to regular curriculum manuals and will largely

cover the bridging methodology and instructions for using the materials described earlier in this paper.

8.3. Future research project

Another research project is planned for Ifugao Division. It is expected that approximately fifteen to twenty classes in four different districts of the division will be involved. Plans are being developed to do a thorough documentation from the beginning to the end of the program.

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Passive Literacy Among the Cheyenne

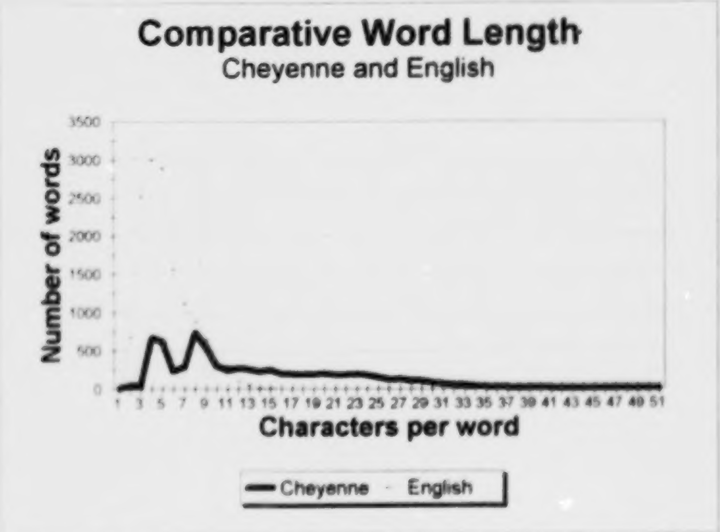
Elena Leman, North America Branch

Elena Leman and her husband, Wayne, joined SIL in August 1972. They have been translating Cheyenne Scripture under the Cheyenne Christian Education Project on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation in southeastern Montana since 1975. Elena has a M.S. in mathematics from Kansas State University (1972) and a M.A. in linguistics from the University of Oregon (1991).

The Cheyenne Indians live in western Oklahoma and southeastern Montana in the western United States. There are about 3,000 speakers of the language. Most of these people have learned to read and write English in school, although proficiency in these skills varies greatly depending on their continued use.

There are several problems which face Cheyenne literacy programs. One of these is the length of the words. A count of word length in English texts covering several thousand words shows that a vast majority of the words are shorter than ten letters long. The length of English words fits a nice bell curve with five letter words at the top of the curve as demonstrated in the chart on the following page. In contrast, Cheyenne word length does not fit a bell curve at all. Although there are peaks of word lengths at five and nine letter words, there is a fairly even occurrence of words of all lengths up to thirty letters. Longer words, with up to fifty-one letters each, also occur with enough frequency to warrant including them on the chart. On a smaller scale, I counted word length on a single page of text which had seventy-three Cheyenne words. Of these, twenty-six percent (nineteen) of the words had twenty or more letters, two of which had thirty-four letters. Thirty-eight percent (twenty-eight) of the words were between ten and twenty letters long. Thus sixty-four percent of the words were over ten letters long. Only thirty-six percent had less than ten letters. By contrast, the English translation of that text had 215 words of which ninety-nine percent (all but three) were under ten letters. The longest English word had twelve letters. Those Cheyennes who have learned to read English phonetically can begin to sound out the long words in their language. Those who learned to read English by word recognition find it very difficult to read Cheyenne.

Chart 1 Comparative Word Length



Cultural factors also mitigate against classroom literacy techniques. It is important for all members of a group to work together, with no one person excelling over the others. Those who work faster help those who are struggling. Given this, Cheyennes do not like to perform before a group, especially if they are unsure of their ability to do the task. Thus, attempting to read long words before other people is embarrassing.

Wayne Leman has conducted several classroom-style literacy classes. The people who have attended these classes have been bilingual aids for local elementary schools. Supposedly, they would have the motivation to learn to read and write in the vernacular. Essentially no readers have resulted from these classes. We need to find more culturally sensitive ways of teaching Cheyenne reading.

Most Cheyennes feel they cannot read their language. Yet if they hear it read as they follow a written copy, they will turn the page at the right time. The English reading knowledge they have carries over sufficiently into Cheyenne to enable them to follow along. But there are enough differences that it takes time and practice to produce confident Cheyenne readers.

Because of the sociolinguistic factors mentioned above and the long oral tradition of Cheyenne, we have not succeeded with 'traditional' literacy methods. Instead, we are laying a ground work for future literacy efforts through PASSIVE LITERACY. This may also be termed PRELITERACY in the sense that we are exposing Cheyennes to the idea that their language can be written. We have done this in several ways. Most material produced by the Cheyenne Christian Education Project, for which we work, has both a written and a taped copy. We have also produced a hymnbook. Every Sunday, when people sing the hymns, they are practicing reading while they follow the words in the hymns. Illustrated calendars with Cheyenne phrases and Cheyenne names for special dates increase exposure to the language. Cheyenne names on the back of shirts or jackets, greeting cards, and posters with brief Cheyenne phrases also help dispel the feeling the Cheyenne is only an oral language. Use of the written language is beginning to spread beyond the things which we have helped produce.

Josephine Genmore, a Northern Cheyenne, was much interested in her language. She developed her own orthography as a means of teaching non-Cheyenne school teachers some Cheyenne words. She taught herself to read and write the current orthography by watching my husband, Wayne, transcribe what she said as they worked together on translation and linguistic work.

Several times I observed Josephine's interactions with other Cheyenne speakers who expressed an interest in learning to read and write. On one occasion her niece asked to be taught to read. Josephine told her niece to pick a story from a newly printed book of Cheyenne text (Leman 1987:60). Josephine then proceeded to read while her niece followed along in her own copy of the story. Josephine then encouraged her niece to try some words on her own. When her niece stumbled over the words, Josephine resumed reading, thus decreasing the pressure her niece felt.

Another time, when asked about writing, Josephine suggested that the other person attempt to write and then compare her work with the way Josephine wrote. Then Josephine talked about why she spelled the words as she did.

Following Josephine's example, we have used translation checking sessions, Sunday School classes, Sunday morning worship services, and other occasions to practice passive literacy. In these settings someone will read a portion of text while all those present follow on their own written copy. We might then all read the passage together. On other occasions we take a few moments to show how Cheyenne words are built from small parts, or we might explain some other facet of the language. These are brief explanations, not lectures. I have attempted to read a word or two to a friend who was trying to read a calendar saying. Although I did not get the pitch contour right, she was able to figure out the words and then read them herself.

I assume that in the future we will attempt further literacy classes. We will attempt to be culturally sensitive, not putting anyone on the spot. We will need techniques other than those used in a standard classroom stetting. Maybe, initially, the students will simply follow along as someone reads then, as a group, read the easiest words in context. From there, we will gradually increase the number of words the group reads together. Ray Gordon has carefully described this technique which he successfully used with the Crow Indians, Cheyenne neighbors (Gordon 1989). Hopefully the vernacular language exposure created by our passive literacy methods will be a good foundation for the new readers.

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Comment Faire Un Syllabaire "Gudschinsky Adapté"

Ursula Wiesemann

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[Editor's note: the following article is an adaptation of the Gudschinsky method as used in Africa. It has been included to benefit our readers who work in francophone countries.]

Ce document doit être examiné avec l'exemplaire d'un syllabaire en main.

1. La philosophie

Amener celui qui, tout en parlant bien une langue, est incapable d'en lire un texte être alphabétisé dans cette même langue, c'est-à-dire lui apprendre à lire et à comprendre le message d'un texte écrite aussi bien que celui de la langue parlée.

Enseigner, une lettre par leçon et, en commençant par les marques de ton, toutes les lettres retenues pour l'alphabet de la langue, ainsi que tous les signes de ponctuation, en respectant l'intégralité des règles orthographiques, et ceci tout au long du syllabaire. Cela implique que, dès le début de cet enseignement on utilise, quand il le faut, les lettres majuscules, sans les réserver pour une é et ne pas les laisser pour un deuxième tour, car il faut étude ultérierure: il faut en effet éviter d'enseigner dans un premier temps, ce qui, par la suite, sera considéré comme une faute.

A chaque leçon se rattache un texte cohérent, très court au début, puis d'une longueur croissante, texte que celui qui est en cours d'alphabétisation deviendra apte à lire tout seul dès qu'il aura maîtrisé les exercices préparatoires contenus dans la leçon.

Utiliser, pour ces exercices, d'abord la démarche analytique: du mot (ou la phrase) clé extraire (le nouveau mot) la nouvelle syllabe et la nouvelle lettre; puis la démarche synthétique: former des syllabes avec les lettres, des mots avec les syllabes, des phrases avec les mots et des textes avec les phrases.

Introduire un minimum d'unités dépourvues de sens: lettre individuelle et syllabes, et un maximum d'unités comportant un sens: mots, phrases individuelles, textes.

Alphabétiser sans faire appel à la récitation; éviter, grâce à un contenu varié, l'apprentissage par coeur.

Contribuer, par l'uniformité du format des leçons (page gauche: mot clé et exercices un à cinq, page droite: exercices six et sept, texte), à un enseignement d'une facilité telle que le nouvel alphabétisé deviendra rapidement apte, moyennant un minimum de préparation, à devenir alphabétiseur.

En principe l'alphabétisation doit se faire dans le contexte d'une littérature existante comportant un minimum de dix livrets afférents non seulement à la littérature fonctionnelle (livrets de contenu "utile"), mais aussi à la littérature esthétique et divertissante, écrite (non traduite) dans la langue.

En principe on doit préparer l'utilisation du syllabaire présenté ici par un pré-syllabaire contentant les leçons de pré-lecture et de pré-écriture.

Nous présentons le modèle du syllabaire dernièrement utilisé au Bénin. Ce n'est pas le seul modèle possible, la méthode permet toutes sortes de variations. Pour d'autres détails il est bon de consulter le livre *Guide pour l'alphabétisation en langues africaines* par Olive Shell et Ursula Wiesemann, Yaoundé: PROPELCA Nr. 34, 1987.

2. L'alphabet et les règles d'orthographe

On doit, tout d'abord, dresser la liste des signes à enseigner (alphabet, signes de ponctuation) et les règles d'orthographe.

Si les signes et les règles n'ont pas encore été établies pour la langue en question, une étude phonologique est nécessaire pour servir de base à de telles décisions, prises selon les signes retenus pour toutes les langues nationales parlées dans le pays. On doit donc faire appel à des linguistes spécialisés en la matière.

L'étude phonologique faite, il s'agit de choisir un seul symbole (ou digraphe) pour chaque phonème identifié, c'est-à-dire pour chaque son qui se trouve en opposition avec tout autre son dans la langue, sans en donner un symbole aux sons pour lesquels on peut formuler une règle de prononciation.

Une attention spéciale doit être accordée aux sons qui peuvent être soit voyelle soit consonne: <y–i>, <w–u>, <n–ŋ> (le dernier signe représentant la nasale syllabique appelée aussi voyelle nasale). Il ne faut jamais utiliser le même signe pour les consonnes que pour les voyelles (ou sons syllabiques).

Un autre problème concerne la nasalisation des voyelles, surtout dans la même syllabe qu'une consonne nasale [m, ɱ, n, ɲ, ŋ, ŋm]. Cette nasalisation peut être soit en opposition soit en variation avec la voyelle orale.

L'alphabet établi, il s'agit de nommer des lettres. Le nom des voyelles s'inspire de leur son. Pour les consonnes la question est moins simple, les lettres ayant besoin d'une voyelle pour être prononcées. A fin de faciliter la tâche de celui qui apprend, il est convenu de nommer les consonnes par leur son suivi soit de [ə] soit d'une autre voyelle de la langue. La lettre <f> aura donc pour nom [fə], par exemple. Quand on présentera les consonnes dans les leçons, il faudra faire la distinction entre le son de la consonne et son nom.

L'ordre alphabétique dans lequel sont présentées les lettres suit généralement celui du français, les nouvelles lettres y sont ajoutéeprès de celles avec lesquelles elles forment un groupe. Ainsi on présente <a ã (ą)... e ɛ ɛ̃(ɛ̨) ... m n ŋ> etc..

L'importance des tons dans presque toutes les langues africaines a toujours besoin d'être soulignée. Ils sont aussi importants pour la lecture que les consonnes et les voyelles et doivent être marqués systématiquement, c'est-à-dire chaque fois qu'ils sont prononcés, selon le système de la langue en question et les notations retenues. On les marque souvent par la présence ou l'absence de certains accents.

Les règles d'orthographe régissent l'utilisation des symboles pour les mots et les phrases. Il est important de les formuler.

Pour la graphie des mots, on se base toujours sur le registre lent qui est la forme prononcée de manière lente et précise. On évite les abréviations et les amalgames de la langue parlée. D'autre part on écrit ce qui se prononce réellement et non pas ce qu'on peut reconstituer uniquement à partir de la grammaire.

La bonne orthographe est celle qui correspond à ce que "ressent" le locuteur autochtone, surtout le locuteur monolingue et analphabète. On ne peut pourtant pas le questionner à ce sujet: il ne sait pas de quoi il s'agit. C'est au cours de son alphabétisation et au fur et à mesure qu'il apprend les signes destinés à lui permettre de lire ou d'écrire qu'il peut, compte tenu de la connaissance intuitive qu'il a de cette langue, nous faire saisir, par les fautes qu'il commet, l'adéquation ou l'inadéquation de l'orthographe proposé.

Une même faute commise par plusieurs de ceux qu'on alphabétise indique que le règle d'orthographe ainsi vidée a été mal définie. Il convient alors de la rectifier pour éviter des erreurs aux futurs lecteurs autochtones.

Pour déterminer les règles qui, pour ces derniers, sont bonnes ou mauvaises, il est indispensable de recourir au matériel pédagogique dont on dispose, pour tester différentes solutions. On peut ainsi, par example, utiliser un même type de syllabaire mais avec des graphies différentes en fonction des othographes proposées. Ces leçons différemment graphiées seront alors enseignées à des groupes différentes. L'évaluation des progrès ou des problèmes de chaque des ces groupes permettra de repére l'orthographe la plus facilement assimilable par ceux que l'on alphabétise en partant celle qui corresponde le mieux à leurs usages ou à leur intuition. On pourra dès lors en déduire des règles orthographiques pertinentes et sûres. Dans ce processus de tester les règles it est important de tester les solutions opposées.

Les détails des considérations sur l'orthographe se trouvent dans le livre *Guide pour le développement d'un système d'écriture en langues africaines* par U. Wiesemann, E. Sadembouo et M. Tadadjeu, Yaoundé: PROPELCA Nr. 2, 1987.

3. La préparation du syllabaire: les histoires

La liste des symboles à enseigner une fois dressée, on peut procéder à la rédaction des leçons. Cette nouvelle étape consiste d'abord à rédiger quatre ou cinq petits textes préliminaires qu'on pourra inclure dans le syllabaire et dont le contenu est destiné à susciter l'intérêt de ceux q'on alphabétise, en faisant référence à de petits incidents de leur vie quotidienne susceptibles d'être attribués soit à des personnages typiques soit à des animaux (comme dans les contes).

Les textes rédigés, il convient d'en relever le vocabulaire en dressant une liste comportant les noms et verbes trouvés dans le texte et une autre comportant les particules grammaticales.

Les lettres contenues dans ce vocabulaire doivent être comptabilisées, ce qui permettra de repérer les lettres les plus fréquemment utilisées pour les insérer dans les premières leçons. On notera en même temps les lettres les moins fréquemment employées pour ne pas les laisser jusqu'à la fin du syllabaire ou la manque de répétitions nécessaires riquerait d'en laisser la connaissance.

On choisit six symboles, peut-être trois voyelles et trois consonnes, avec lesquels on développe un vocabulaire qui peut aider a rédiger les textes pour les premières leçons.

Pour faciliter la rédaction de textes avec peu de lettres on peut recourir á l'utilisation de deux mots-à-vue comme par exemple le nom des protagonistes (personnages ou animaux). Si toutefois peut avec peu de lettres former des noms simples, mais non des verbes, on peut choisir un verbe comme mot-à-vue. Mais attention: le mot-à-vue doit figurer à la base d'un dessin. Il est donc important de choisir comme tel ce qu'on peut facilement dessiner: personnages ou actions. Celui qui apprend regarde les mots-à-vue et les apprend par coeur , ce qui implique q'on ne doit donc jamais changer leur forme, ni en y ajoutant une particule collée.

Le nombre des mots-à-vue est limité à deux pour ne pas rendre plus difficile le travail de celui qu'on alphabétise. Celui-ci doit se concentrer sur l'apprentissage des lettres et des syllabes qui permettent de former des mots construits contenant uniquement les lettres enseignées.

A l'aide de ce premier vocabulaire on rédige un joli texte de plusieurs phrases. De ces phrases on tâche d'extraire les deux lettres qui permettent de faire la première partie du texte pour entamer la première leçon. Celle-ci peut contenir exceptionnellement deux nouvelles lettres, une voyelle et une consonne, car, sans ce minimum, il est très difficile de faire même les premiers exercices.

Pour les leçons deux á cinq on continue la première histoire, en y ajoutant une lettre par leçon. La leçon six est une leçon de révision dans laquelle aucune nouvelle lettre n'est enseignée. On peut conclure la première histoire dans cette leçon de révision.

Le ton est déjà enseigné avant d'entamer la première leçon (voir en bas), on va donc l'écrire normalement sur les mots dès l'initiation aux premières lettres dans ces premières leçons.

Par la suite, dans chaque rangée de six leçons susceptible de constituer une seule histoire, on ajoute à chaque leçon une nouvelle lettre, on développe le nouveau vocabulaire ainsi rendu possible et on rédige le texte sur la base de ce vocabulaire, en évitant surtout d'y insérer des lettres non encore enseignées. L'histoire est reprise et contée dans son entier dans la leçon de révision. Dans cette reprise, toutes les lettres désormais enseignées peuvent être utilisées.

On peut aussi rédiger une nouvelle histoire pour chaque leçon. Dans ce cas la leçon de révision aura également sa nouvelle histoire, sans pour autant y soit ajouteé une nouvelle lettre. On peut d'ailleurs dans cette leçon utiliser des mots construits qui n'ont pas trouvé place dans les leçons antérieures.

Le développement d'une série de leçons commence de toute façon par la rédaction de ces textes en fonction desquels seront tous les exercices destinés à en préparer la lecture.

4. La préparation du syllabaire: les exercices

Les premiers exercices enseignent les marques tonales. Ce sont les pré-leçons. Les paires (ou triplets) minimales de ton servent, car la seule différence entre les membres de ces paires est la mélodie. Hors des accents et de leur absence, les mots sont "-à-vue" car les lettres n'en sont pas encore connues. On a donc besoin de les présenter avec leur image, c'est pourquoi sont fort utiles les noms faciles à illustrer.

On choisit donc environ six pairesde mots et même jusqu'à huit s'il y a lieu d'enseigner deux marques tonales. On présente l'image, la graphie complète du mot et un groupe d'exercices mettant en contraste la graphie complète de ce mot avec celle de l'autre membre de la paire. Chaque paire (ou triplet) doit être présentée sur une seule page.

La dernière page des pré-leçons est réservée à la présentation des deux mots-à-vue, pour lesquels on utilise les illustrations et le même type d'exercices que pour les paires tonales.

Pour les leçons proprement dites, la forme à adopter, faite de plusieurs parties, se présentera de la manière suivante, étant bien entendu que chaque leçon doit en entier tenir sur deux pages, l'une à gauche, l'autre à droite. La page de gauche doit comporter:

1. Le numéro de la leçon en chiffre et en lettres, suivis de la nouvelle lettre.
2. L'image du mot-clé, sa graphie, la nouvelle syllabe et la voyelle de la syllabe. On n'isolera pas la consonne puisqu'on ne peut pas la prononcer seule.
3. L'exercice un: en première ligne figureront uniquement des voyelles (ou la nouvelle voyelle), en deuxième ligne, les nouvelles syllabes en séquence de consonne et de voyelle. Une exception est à faire pour la nasale syllabique: on peut la présenter à coté d'une syllabe avec laquelle elle se combine souvent. Les syllabes sont entourées d'un cadre rectangulaire.
4. L'exercice deux: il reprend la deuxième ligne de l'exercice un, mais alignée verticalement, en cadre rectangulaire.
5. L'exercice trois: en première ligne, les syllabes déjà connues, en deuxième ligne de nouvelles syllabes avec la nouvelle lettre, le tout en cadre rectangulaire.
6. L'exercice quatre: de nouveaux mots construits (jusqu'à six) y sont présentes. Ce sont de préférence ceux qui sont contenus dans le texte et qui contiennent la

nouvelle lettre. Ces nouveaux mots sont présentés sur deux lignes: sur la première figurent les syllabes contenues dans le mot, sur la deuxième: les mots en entier, c'est-à-dire comportant les syllabes réunies, le tout dans un cadre trapézoïdal.

7. L'exercice cinq: la nouvelle lettre s'écrit en minuscule et en majuscule avec un mot pour son illustration, dans un cadre rectangulaire à double ligne. On introduit la majuscule en même temps que la minuscule pour pouvoir, dès le commencement respecter toutes les règles d'orthographe.
8. On ajoute eventuellement un exercice tonal: une colonne de mots contenant le même nombre de syllabes pourvus de la même mélodie; complétée par une deuxième (peut-être une troisième, et même quatrième) colonne de mots d'une autre mélodie. Dans ces exercices, la prèsence des paires minimales n'est plus demandée. Par contre les mots qui y sont utilisés doivent être des mots construits.

La page de droite comprend:

9. L'exercice six de l'écriture: la nouvelle lettre en minuscule et majuscule, un mot construit et plus tard une courte phrase. Cet exercice peut aussi se faire après la lecture du texte (dans ce cas la numérotation change).
10. L'exercice sept: l'exercice grammatical. On y présente les signes de ponctuation utilisés dans le texte, les constructions grammaticales qui mettent en évidence le ton grammatical de la langue, et d'autres transformations d'une phrase ou partie de phrase du texte qui servent à illustrer certains points de la grammaire. Le cadre est en pointillé. ATTENTION: ces exercices ne doivent pas devenir trop complexes, puisqu'il s'agit des phrases sans une suite sémantique! Il n'est donc pas question d'y présenter ni la grammaire en entier ni même les parties qui sont les plus intéressantes, Leur but n'est pas la compréhension

des structures grammaticales mais la préparation de la lecture du texte.

11. Le texte est présenté en paragraphes. Les phrases ne se terminent pas forcément à la fin de ligne. Il convient de le présenter comme on le trouverait dans un livre de lecture, en respectant toutes les règles orthographiques et de ponctuation. On prendra soin de ne pas utiliser de phrases trop longues et, autant que possible, d'introduire les virgules.
12. L'exercice neuf peut être un rappel sous la forme d'une dictée des mots construits (exercice quatre). Toutefois la dictée peut se faire au commencement de la leçon suivante.

Dans la leçon de révision sur la page gauche on n'aura pas de mot-clé ni d'exercice un à deux. Dans l'exercice trois on pourra réviser les nouvelles syllabes de la rangée. Dans l'exercice quatre on a de la place pour une troisième rangée de nouveaux mots construits. Il n'existe pas de cinq, mais obligatoirement un exercice tonal. Tous les exercices de la page de droite sont inclus dans la révision.

Si le syllabaire n'est pas trop long (moins de quarante-deux leçons) on peut le compléter par quelques leçons type post-syllabaire. On inclura les mots nouveaux jugés difficiles dans un exercice quatre, un exercice grammatical, le texte et des questions sur le contenu du texte. La réponse à ces questions peut être donnée oralement ou, même mieux, par écrit.

5. La préparation du syllabaire: la progression

Le bon syllabaire est celui qui se caractérise par une bonne progression. La meilleure méthode devient inefficace si la progression est trop rapide, ne respecte pas la nécessité de la répétition ou néglige d'introduire non seulement les lettres mais aussi les différents types de syllabes et les différentes positions des lettres dans la syllabe, peut-être même dans le mot.

Pour assurer une bonne progression, il faut veiller à ce que les lettres et syllabes soient suffisamment répétées (environ trente fois) pour être maîtriseés, et cela au cours de plusieurs leçons et avec une assez grande variété de mots construits.

Il ne convient pas d'introduire, dans le syllabaire, les syllabes qui n'existent pas dans la langue étudiée: elles ne peuvent que crèer des confusions dans des lecteurs.

Une lettre qui ne se trouve jamais au commencement d'un mot ne doit pas être enseignée dans une syllabe isolée, sauf lorsqu'on l'introduit pour la première fois. Par la suite, il faudra veiller à la répéter seulement au milieu du mot et à ne pas couper de ce mot la syllabe qui la contient.

L'introduction successive des lettres dépend en premier lieu de l'utilité que présentent ces lettres pour former les mots qui permettant de rédiger des histoires. Une autre considération doit toutefois entrer en ligne de compte: ne pas introduire dans des leçons subséquentes des lettres qui se confondent facilement comme par exemple <*b*—*d*—*p*—*q*> ou <*m*—*n*—*ñ*—ŋ>.

Pour faciliter le contrôle de la progression et s'assurer que celle-ci est bonne, il y a lieu de remplir une fiche (cf. modèle annexé) pour chaque groupe de six leçons.

6. Le syllabaire: ses parties

Le syllabaire a un titre; les auteurs, les illustrateurs, l'assistance technique et financières sont normalement indiqués, sur la première ou la dernière feuille. Si le travail dépend d'un ministère ou d'un autre organe soit gouvernemental soit ecclésiastique, cela est indiqué. Le groupe responsable déclarera ses droits de copy right ©. La date de production est mise en évidence, ainsi que la version: préliminaire? Première édition? Deuxième? Nombre de copies?

On peut, dans un avant-propos, adresser des remerciements à qu'ils sont dus et, pour faciliter l'acceptation du travail par les cadres du groupe linguistique, y inclure la ligne pédagogique suivie (cf. ci-après).

Suivent les pré-leçons et les leçons: elles peuvent être complétées par la présentation de l'alphabet en minuscule et majuscule avec un ou plusieurs mots d'illustration et l'indication entre parenthèses du numéro de la leçon dans laquelle chaque lettre est enseignée.

La formulation des règles d'orthographe aide les cadres à s'y retrouver et à suivre le raisonnement des leçons. Elle est aussi utile pour l'alphabétiseur.

Enfin, vient une liste des leçons dans l'ordre de leur présentation: l'indication de la lettre enseignée et celles des leçons de révision, est utile: on peut préciser les pages où elles se trouvent.

7. La ligne pédagogique de l'enseignement

Avant de commencer une leçon de ce syllabaire, l'alphabétiseur est prié à chaque séance, de lire à haute voix un texte devant la classe. Ce texte ne sera pas tiré du syllabaire mais d'un autre livre rédigé dans la langue. Cette lecture publique, bien exécutée, donnera envie à ceux qui apprennent à lire et de lire et d'acheter les livres à leur disposition.

Les premières leçons de ce syllabaire n'ont pas de numéro et constitueés par l'enseignement des accents utilisés pour marquer le ton. Puisqu'il n'y a pas de mot sans ton, ces accents sont marqués au niveau de chaque mot. Par contre, on ne les marques pas au niveau des syllabes (exercices un á trois de chaque leçon pourvue d'en numéro).

Les accents sont enseignés sur la base de paires minimales de ton, c'est-à-dire de paires (ou triplets) de mots qui se distinguent uniquement par leur mélodie. Cette différence de mélodie est indiquée par la présence (ou, selon le cas, l'absence) des accents marqués sur les voyelles. Les mots de la paire (du triplet) sont présentés par une image et accompagnés de la graphie du mot ainsi que de quelques exercices destinés à distinguer les deux (ou trois) membres de la paire (du triplet).

Pour enseigner ces paires (ou triplets) il est important de ne pas vouloir enseigner les voyelles et les consonnes mais uniquement les accents et leur absence. On regarde donc les images, on trouve le mot oralement et on examine la différence entre les deux (ou trois) mots présentés. Pour ce faire, on utilise les mots individuels comme aussi les trois mots encadrés et les ensembles de trois fois trois mots. Ce sont ces derniers que seront appelés à lire, peut être en groupe, surtout individuellement, ceux qu'on alphabétise.

Chaque paire (ou triplet) est enseignée sans faire appel à une autre paire (ou triplet), c'est-à-dire qu'on ne compare pas les mots d'une page à l'autre. Pour renforcer l'enseignement, on peut écrire au tableau les mots de la paire (ou du triplet) dans un ordre différent de celui présenté dans le livre.

La dernière page avant la leçon un présente, en image et en mot, les mots-à-vue utilisés pour commencer les premières leçons. En générale, ce sont deux mots qui aident à faire les histoires (exercice huit) des leçons avec peu de lettres déjà enseignées. Ces mots-à-vue constituent les seuls éléments du syllabaire que ceux qui son alphabétisés apprennent par coeur sans avoir à se préoccuper d'en reconnaître les lettres: les mots apparaîtront sans aucun changement de forme dans les leçons suivantes jusqu'à celle où ils deviendront des mots construits, toutes les lettres qui les composent ayant été étudiés.

L'enseignement de ces mots-à-vue se fait par l'examen des formes écrites correspondantes, et aussi par la "lecture" des mots encadrés.

Chaque leçon proprement dite est numérotée et occupe deux pages. Les consonnes et les voyelles sont introduites une à une, sauf dans la première leçon qui contient une consonne et une voyelle. Nous n'avons pas tenu à introduire toutes les voyelles à la fois mais plutôt à la les mêler avec les consonnes pour permettre de former des mots et des phrases dès la première leçon.

Au début de la première page (page gauche), l'alphabétiseur prendra soin de dire à ceux qu'il instruit que le numéro de la leçon suivi de la même information en lettres ainsi que le caractère alphabétique destiné à être enseigné (c'est-à-dire, tout ce qui est en haut de la première ligne horizontale) ne les concernent pas pour le moment. Il peut toutefois montrer la nouvelle lettre et en indiquer le nom (le son si c'est une voyelle, le son suivi par [ə] si c'est une consonne).

La démarche pédagogique suivie obéit donc au principe d'une lettre par leçon. Cette lettre sera introduite à l'aide d'un "mot-clé" qui peut faire partie de toute une phrase dès son introduction.

Le "mot-clé" est toujours accompagné d'une image et permet de dégager l'une des syllabes contenant la nouvelle lettre. Si la nouvelle lettre est voyelle, celle-ci se trouve en dernière ligne; si c'est une consonne on trouve la voyelle en dernière ligne et la consonne s'enseigne par l'absence de cette voyelle. Si l'alphabétiseur a enseigné le nom de la consonne, il montrera ici la différence entre le nom et le son. De toute façon on n'enseignera jamais que [*ɛf + o —> fo*], car cela donnerait toujours [*ɛfo*] et jamais [*fo*].

L'enseignement est facilité par la présentation des syllabes (cf. cadres rectangulaires (un á trois) qui montrent la nouvelle lettre dans plusieurs combinaisons). Les nouvelles syllabes sont utilisées par la suite pour la formation de "mots construits;" voir cadres trapézoïdales (quatre), mots dont toutes les parties sont connues, sauf la nouvelle lettre.

Les exercices de cette page (page gauche) sont complétés par la mise en évidence de la nouvelle lettre qui sera écrite en minuscule et en majuscule (cf. cadre double [cinq]). Dans la dernière partie de cette page peut figurer un exercice de ton de la langue étudiée, exercice indiqué par le dessin d'un instrument musical.

La page de droite, par contre, commence par l'écriture de la nouvelle lettre et des mots ou des phrases désormais connus (cf. exercice six). Sur les premières lignes sont montrées, par étape des différentes manières de réaliser la lettre en minuscule à gauche et en majuscule à droite. Par contre, sur les dernières lignes apparaissent un mot construit ou une phrase contenant la lettre précédemment étudiée, avec respect du critère de gauche et de droite.

Il faut préciser que le cahier d'exercices doit être dissocié du syllabaire que l'on a confectionné.

L'exercice sept en cadre pointillé prépare la lecture d'une des phrases (ou partie de phrase) du texte. On peut y trouver quelques notions grammaticales et les signes de ponctuation.

Après avoir fait tous ces exercices (un á sept) avec ceux qu'il instruit, l'alphabétiseur laisse à ces derniers le soin de lire tout seuls en silence le texte (huit) dont toutes les parties ont été étudiées et dont la lecture a été soigneusement préparée par les exercices afin qu'il ne contienne plus de suprises. C'est par le texte que s'apprend la lecture même.

Dans les premières leçons, les lettres disponibles pour écrire le texte sont très peu nombreuses, ce qui demande une discussion en classe sur le sens du texte avant que les élèves ne le lisent.

Pendant que les élèves découvrent le texte (en silence), l'alphabétiseur l'écrit au tableau. Il prendra soin de le changer un petit peu, par exemple en inversant certains éléments, mais sans y ajouter un mot inconnu. Plusieurs élèves ayant lu le texte à haute voix, certains le lisent au tableau. Les petits changements introduits forcent les lecteurs à une lecture attentive et évitent la récitation.

La leçon se termine par une dictée (neuf), celle de mots construits (quatre) ou de phrases composées à partir des mots construits étudiés auparavant. Ce rappel pour l'alphabétiseur se trouve en bas de la page de droite séparé de la leçon par une ligne horizontale.

La dernière leçon de chaque groupe de six est une leçon de révision, sans "mot-clé," ni exercices un et deux. A la place du "mot-clé" peut se trouver une image illustrant le texte. L'alphabétiseur prendra soin de discuter l'illustration avec les élèves, soit au début de la leçon pour stimuler l'intérêt, soit juste avant la lecture indépendante pour leur donner une idée du contenu.

La leçon de révision contient toujours un exercice tonal indiqué par l'image d'un instrument musical.

Les dernières leçons du syllabaire constituent un entraînement post-syllabaire. Elles sont conçues comme toute leçon de révision, avec addition de quelques questions de compréhension auxquelles l'élève est censé répondre oralement ou par écrit.

Les leçons de révision et post-syllabaires peuvent servir á évaluer le progrès des élèves, tant pour l'évaluation continue que pour l'examen final. Ainsi, à la fin du cours, l'alphabétiseur pourra développer l'examen final en utilisant soit le texte de la dernière leçon de révision, soit les textes des leçons post-syllabaires, soit d'autres textes que lui-même aura rédigés. Cet examen portera sur quatre matières: compréhension, lecture orale, dictée et rédaction.

8. Tester le syllabaire

Avant d'imprimer le syllabaire il est absolument nécessaire de le tester avec une ou deux petites classes (de dix á quinze élèves chacune) expérimentales pour trouver les erreurs de frappe, les fautes d'orthographe et d'autres lacunes. Pour ce faire, on peut photocopier le syllabaire.

Les alphabétiseurs chargés de cette expérimentation ont besoin d'une formation pédagogique axée sur deux buts: maîtriser le système d'écriture de la langue en question et la méthode du syllabaire.

Une fiche pour l'alphabétiseur peut l'aider à bien enseigner; en voici un modèle:

Fiche de l'alphabetiseur

Preparation de classe:

1. trouver les mots à réviser, les écrire sur le tableau
2. choisir un texte antérieur à réviser dans le livre
3. chercher dans le nouveau texte les mots difficiles
4. écrire au tableau le mot clé et les exercices un á quatre
5. choisir un texte (hors du syllabaire) et pratiquer la lecture

En classe:

6. lire le petit texte pour ouvrir la séance, discuter le contenu
7. faire lire les mots à réviser au tableau
8. faire lire dans le livre le texte à réviser
9. chercher la nouvelle leçon, examiner et discuter l'illustration
10. lire le mot clé et les exercices un á quatre inscrits au tableau
11. **Page de gauche**: lire la même chose dans le livre
12. examiner la minuscule et majuscule: exercice cinq
13. lire l'exercice tonal (s'il y en a)
14. **Page de droite**: montrer la lettre à écrire: exercice six
15. pratiquer l'écriture sur l'ardoise et dans un cahier
16. écrire les mots sur l'ardoise (dans le cahier à la maison)

17. lire l'exercice grammatical: exercice sept
18. laisser le temps aux élèves de découvrir le texte:
19. sans l'apprendre par coeur!!!
20. entre temps écrire au tableau le texte un peu changé
21. plusieurs lisent le texte dans le livre
22. plusieurs lisent le texte au tableau
23. discuter le texte oralement (sur la base des questions)
24. faire une dictée des mots de l'exercice quatre
25. terminer la séance

En plus de cette orientation, l'alphabétiseur de la classe expérimentale doit être attentif à observer ce qui est facile pour les élèves et ce qui leur pose des problèmes. A ce point tout changement est encore possible, tant au niveau des règles d'orthographe qu'á celui du syllabaire proprement dit.

Une fiche d'évaluation pour chaque groupe de leçons montre les points principaux á évaluer avant que le syllabaire ne soit utilisable dans un enseignement généralisé – voir le modèle annexé.

Le responsable de l'évaluation (souvent celui qui a fait le syllabaire) organise avec les alphabétiseurs une séance d'évaluation pour effectuer les corrections nécessaires: fautes de frappe, changements d'orthographe et autres améliorations á apporter au syllabaire, avant que celui-ci ne devienne la base d'un programme d'alphabétisation généralisé.

Alphabétisation en langue:

Evaluation

Nom du Moniteur:

1. date des leçons:

   Ton 1 Ton 2 Ton 3 Ton 4 Ton 5 Ton 6 mots-à-vue
2. marquer les illustrations qui posent des problèmes
3. marquer les tons ou mots difficiles à lire (ne faire lire que les accents et leur absence!)
4. marquer les exercises qu'il faut changer ou augmenter

5. qu'est ce qui est facile dans ce groupe de leçons?
6. qu'est ce qui est difficile dans ce groupe de leçons?
7. autres commentaires, suggestions:

Alphabétisation en langue:
Evaluation

Nom du Moniteur:

1. date des leçons:

1	2	3	4	5	6

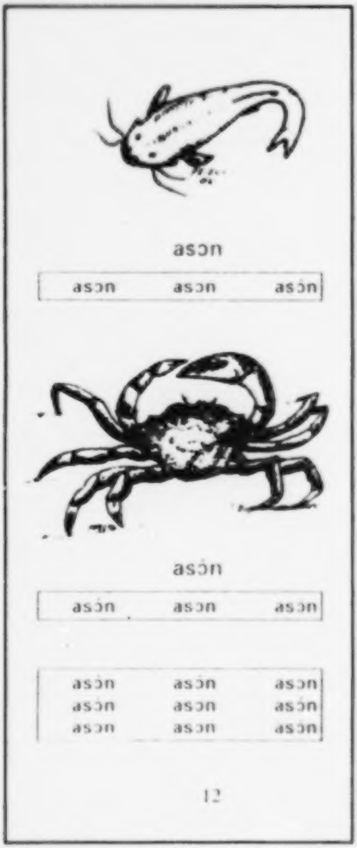
2. lettre enseignée:
3. marquer les illustrations qui donnent des problèmes
4. marquer les mots difficiles à lire
5. marquer les mots difficiles à écrire
6. marquer les exercises qu'il faut changer ou augmenter
7. l'histoire est-elle bien comprise? bien reçue?
8. qu'est ce qui est facile dans ce groupe de leçons, qu'est ce qui est difficile?
9. autres commentaires, suggestions?

Fiche de Contrôle de progression – Langue:

Leçon						
Lettre						
mot – clé						
1 + 3 Syllabes						
4 Mots construits utilisés						
Mots construits non-utilisés mais utilisables						
6 Ecriture						
7 Ponctuation						
7 Exercises de phrases (Grammaire)						
Exercice tonal						

L'appendice

Exemple 1. Un lesson tonal[1] **Exemple 2. Un lesson d'un mot—á-vue[2]**



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asɔ́n

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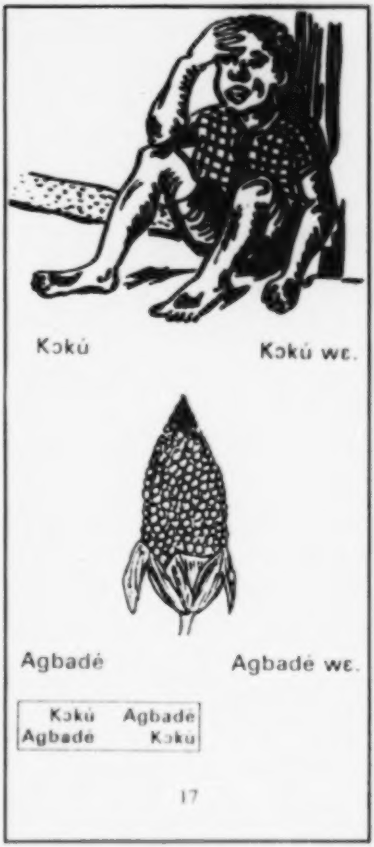
12



Kɔkú Kɔkú wɛ.

Agbadé Agbadé wɛ.

Kɔkú Agbadé
Agbadé Kɔkú

17

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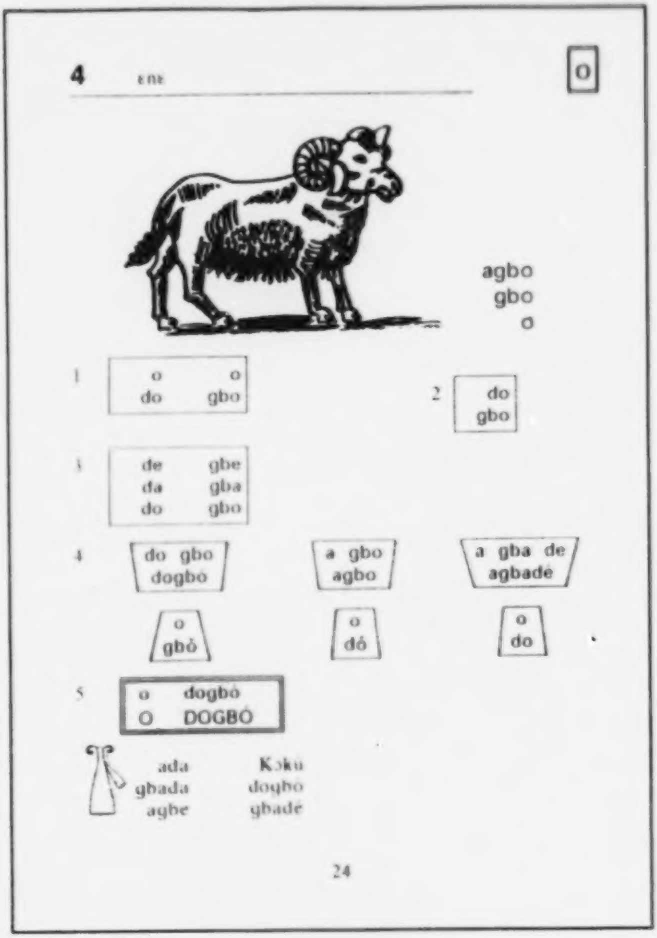
[1] Deha, Jean Jacques. 1992. *Wǎ xa fɔngbe*: Syllabaire fɔngbe. Cotonou, Benin: Société Internationale de Linguistique. p.12.

[2] Deha 1992:17

Exemple 3. Lesson d'une voyelle, la première partie[3]



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3 de gbe
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4 do gbo
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a gba de
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gbó

o
dó

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do

5 o dogbó
O DOGBÓ

ada
gbada
agbe

Kɔkú
dogbó
gbadé

24

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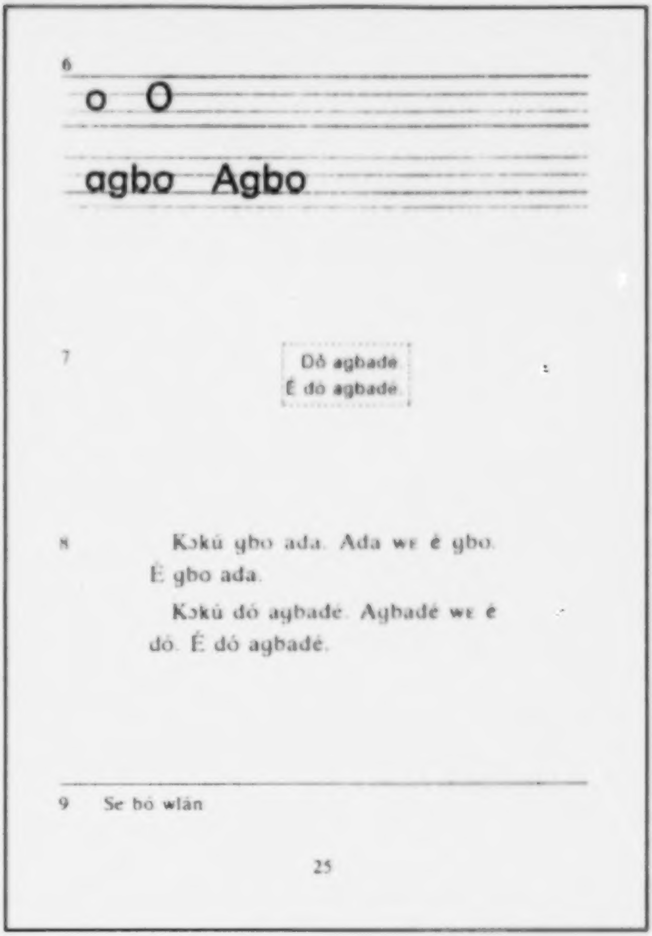
[3] Deha 1992:24

Exemple 4. Lesson d'une voyelle, la deuxième partie[4]



6

o O

agbo Agbo

7

Dó agbadé

É dó agbadé

8 Kɔkú gbo ada. Ada wɛ é gbo. É gbo ada.

Kɔkú dó agbadé. Agbadé wɛ é dó. É dó agbadé.

9 Se bó wlán

25

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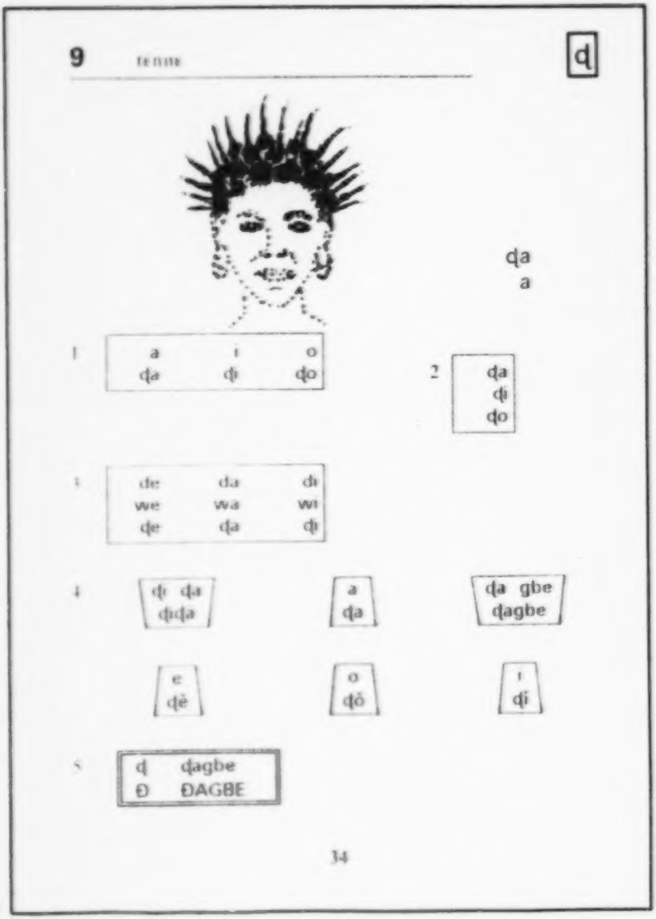
[4] Deha 1992:25

Exemple 5. Lesson d'une consonne, la première partie[5]



9 femme

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3
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5
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Ɖ ƉAGBE

34

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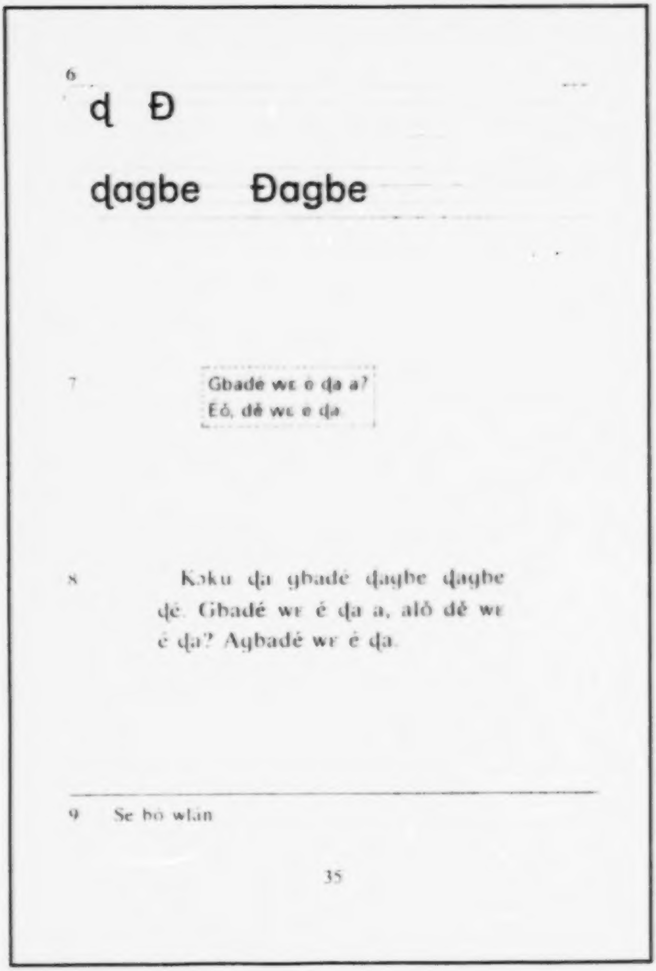
[5] Deha 1992:34

Exemple 6. Lesson d'une consonne, la deuxième partie[6]



6 ɖ Ɖ

ɖagbe Ɖagbe

7 Gbadé wɛ é ɖa a?
Eó, dě wɛ é ɖa.

8 Kɔku ɖa gbadé ɖagbe ɖagbe ɖé. Gbadé wɛ é ɖa a, alŏ dě wɛ é ɖa? Agbadé wɛ é ɖa.

9 Se bó wlán

35

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[6] Deha 1992:35

Literacy for the New Millennium

5-9 July 1993 Australian Reading Association

Report on the First International Conference and Nineteenth National Conference

Delle Matthews

Delle Matthews received her B.A. in Education from Sydney University, a Diploma in Reading Education from Kuringgai College of Advanced Education and an M.A. in Applied Linguistics from the University of Texas. She has worked in Irian Jaya, Indonesia Branch (1985–91). Two of the seven years she worked in Iran Jaya were spent in the Yale literacy program in the highlands of Irian Jaya. She is currently on staff at Singapore SIL. She has taught the literacy courses at both Singapore and Australian SILs.

"Literacy for the new millennium" was the theme for the Australia Reading Association (ARA) conference held in Melbourne in July, 1993. As with any such conference there was wide range of topics to choose from, so that each delegate's experience of the conference was unique. Overall I found the conference stimulating, with some presentations more useful to our needs than others, but the main themes were relevant to all literacy educators. This is a report of the overall impressions I came away with. I have divided the report into sections based on topics.

Literacy As It Is Beginning the New Millennium

One of the themes I detected was that we are experiencing a subtle change in the uses of literacy in our times. This is largely brought about with the introduction of electronic media into our lives. As Thomas Keneally said, "Our society today is anti-reading and has chosen new media instead."

Beverly Derewianka demonstrated some computer programs that are already in use and are shaping our conception of literacy and knowledge-sharing. Included among these are those she called "the closed system" like most of the instructional programs available to educators today and "the open system" of information-sharing such as Email.

Katherine Perera suggested that in the closing years of this century there has been a move towards the iconic presentation of information. This can be seen in public signs, in instruction manuals—and even on computer screens. She went on to divide the uses of literacy into societal and individual. Society uses literacy in record-keeping and academic information-sharing and for these there are no nonliteracy alternatives. Individuals use literacy for such purposes as communication with people, transmission of current information, enjoyment, entertainment, instructions, and warning labels, all of which can be replaced by nonliterate media. There are many adults who do not need and do not use literacy skills.

The questions to be asked, then, are whether literacy remains relevant and whether it is still necessary that everyone learn to read. The answer to the former, of course, is "Yes, it is still relevant," and to the latter (according to Keneally), "It is the greatest tragedy to be illiterate in this century." Perera reminded us that literature is practical in that there is no other medium that is as portable and easily interpretable as words in books. Orality in all other medium used is derived from or dependent on the written word. There would obviously be a political problem if some people could not read. Beyond that problem she claims that, educationally, the consequences of literacy are more important than the uses of literacy, as literacy is a powerful tool for personal development. It still remains a means of empowerment.

With a continuing need for literacy comes a continuing responsibility for authors to be vigilant of the messages they give in their writing. Mem Fox said that being literate means being able to receive those messages which in many cases can be negative. She poses the question, "Is literacy dangerous?" There is now a greater accountability and need to remain unbiased in writing.

While most speakers talked of literacy in our own culture, Thomas Keneally and Francis Mangubhai gave us a glimpse of literacy worldwide. The contrast only served to remind me that the gap between literacy in the West and in most countries where the

Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) is serving continues to widen, yet some of the principles of good teaching established in our own schools are appropriate across cultures.

Mangubhai presented some of the findings from the IEA international literacy survey. Some of the factors that had a positive influence on literacy standards were a higher proportion of female teachers, fewer school days per year, large classroom libraries and higher amounts of homework. Finland performed consistently high and Mangubhai felt this was due not only to good teaching, using the whole language approach, but to the fact that most television programs children watch use subtitles.

Whole Language

The question seems no longer to be whether to adopt a whole language approach or not, but how to introduce quality into a whole language program. I felt that the most significant reminder from these speakers was of the importance of the role of the teacher as a model and guide to the learner. Ken Goodman claimed that "whole language teaching has seen the emergence of teachers as initiators, as professionals, as liberators, as advocates for kids." They are not only learners along with the students they teach, but they are coaches in an apprenticeship-type relationship, guiding learners in their development of literacy skills.

Aidan Chambers reminded us of some of the basic philosophy of whole language: that reading is not methods but real books; and it is dialogue and desire. It is a desire to engage in dialogue with self and to take on the responsibility of another person's reading. A description of reading will always include mention of its uses.

Ken Goodman showed us how the whole language approach developed from the work of M.A.K. Halliday. Language, he claimed, should be treated seriously but not solemnly. It must be kept in the context of its uses. Language, both oral and written forms, is most easily learned by trying to make sense of it in its context. Form follows function.

Vicktoria Hazell and Millie Musson (both teachers) presented ideas from their own classrooms. They both demonstrated Goodman's claim that whole language has seen the emergence of teachers as initiators. Hazell emphasised the role of the teacher as a model for students learning to write, and Musson presented many ideas (mostly gimmicky) to encourage students to read. The important lesson is that teachers need to be creative in finding ways to get their students reading and writing for sustained periods of time on a regular basis.

Martin Coles developed the idea of the teacher as a professional by explaining the concept of apprenticeship-learning as it applies to the teaching of reading in Britain. He said it involves observation, coaching and practice. Students need to observe the reading task which requires teachers externalizing what they do. Coaching involves one-to-one interaction between teacher and student, and practice means providing opportunities for students to read and write.

Encouraging Developing Writers

The emphasis now is on developing quality and sophistication in writing, rather than quantity. Lucy McCormick-Calkins, a writer herself, talked about developing young writers so that they learn to lead "wide-awake lives" making their experiences more significant. She encouraged the use of a notebook to jot down anything that strikes the writer as it happens. These words, she says, are anybody's. Writers must then make them their own by starting with what she called a "precious particle" and writing a whole lot more about it.

Shelley Harwayne suggested that the problem is not that students do not learn what is demonstrated—they do. She urged teachers to reflect on what they are doing and to lead academic lives, taking care of their own learning. Teachers need to lead "writerly lives," she says, if they are to encourage their students to do the same.

Michael Cavanagh also encouraged teachers to develop their own writing skills, to write when their students are writing. He said that problems of quality have arisen because no structural frames have been given to students. They need to be taught to plan every aspect of their writing, not just the plot.

Adult Literacy

Joseph Howard compared adult literacy programs in the United States and Germany. Illiteracy is measured differently in both countries. In the U.S. it means those who have not received a high school diploma, those counted on a census, or evaluated on their ability to read prose, documents (e.g., bus timetables), and quantitative forms of literacy (e.g., balance a checkbook). These all allow for a range of performance. Germany bases illiteracy on the students' own assessments of themselves. There are three levels of illiteracy: *(a)* knows the letters and can write own name; *(b)* can read short passages but makes mistakes in writing; and *(c)* can read adequately but not write.

Suzanne McConnell outlined her project, which entailed asking adult literacy students what conditions facilitated their learning. She guided them according to Cambourne's seven conditions of learning. The factors students themselves reported as significant included immersing themselves in literacy with a sustained period of time each day reading and writing; demonstration by someone they respected and who they were confident knew how to do it; learning in a group of six to eight people; shared ownership of their learning between themselves and the teacher; honest, direct feedback but not the kind that gives a false sense of their performance; homework but the right to choose whether or not they did it; and risktaking.

Evaluation

The mode of assessment encouraged was self-evaluation. Michael Ford, Patricia Scanlan, and Marilyn Ohlhausen explained how student portfolios can be used to encourage students to take responsibility for their own assessment and learning. While they were dealing with tertiary-level student teachers Alison Preece gave several ideas for student self-evaluation for children. Some of it was gimmicky but I felt her most important point was that teachers need to guide learners into thinking about what learning is and how to focus on particular criteria that demonstrate learning when they are assessing their own work.

Summary

We were urged to become a community of learners. Students must be given greater responsibility for their own learning and assessment, and teachers must take greater responsibility in guiding their students by becoming models of the learning they would want their students to emulate. As Keneally said, "Literacy is not a static achieved state but an open ended ideal, an exploding universe." Teachers must continue to strive towards that ideal in their own lives and to encourage their students along the same road. As Harwayne said, "Teachers need to surround themselves and their students with mentors who can demonstrate their own commitment to the fascination with language."

Presentations Attended by Author

Cavanagh, Michael. *Teaching writing: from accident to design.*

Chambers, Aidan. *Reading: dialogue and desire.*

Coles, Martin. *The storybook approach: developing the concept of apprenticeship.*

Derewianka, Beverly. *Literacy: retrospect and prospect.*

Ford, Michael P., Patricia Scanlan and Marilyn Ohlhausen. *Who are we as learners? The role of inquiry into teacher education.*

Fox, Mem. *What we do with language and what language does to us.*

Goodman, Ken. *What whole language takes from M.A.K. Halliday.*

Harwayne, Shelley. *Building a house for scholars: what young writers and their teachers need.*

Hazell, Vicktoria. *Beginning literacy program.*

Howard, Joseph. *Adult literacy in industrialized nations: an examination of programs in Germany and the U.S.A.*

Keneally, Thomas. *Literacy in Australia and the Third World.*

Mangubhai, Francis. *Reading achievement and reading practices around the world: some data from the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement international literacy survey.*

McConnell, Suzanne. *Facilitating adult-literacy learning.*

McCormick-Calkins, Lucy. *The writing workshop: a place for thoughtfulness.*

Musson, Millie. *Love-to-read activities for the minority, bilingual student.*

Perera, Katherine. *Reading, writing and language development.*

Preece, Alison. *Learner-friendly evaluation and reporting: granting students a voice.*

Announcements

1. Recently Released Transition Manual Available

Georgia Hunter of SIL's Mexico Branch has recently published a manual on transfer. *Reading Transfer: A practical guide to transition materials* is available for $4.00 from:

SIL Literacy Dept.
P.O. Box 8987 CRB
Tucson, AZ 85738

Copies will be sent by surface mail, unless otherwise specified (additional charges for foreign airmail service will be assessed).

2. Library Research Service

Has your quest to locate an elusive technical article or bibliography brought you to the brink of despair? Fear not, a library research service is offered by Wycliffe Associates (United Kingdom) and is available to any member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Bibliographies or copies of technical articles can be obtained. There is a minimal cost. Requests can be submitted on an appropriate order form. This is obtainable from Mrs. Liz Storkey, Library Research Coordinator, 111 Midhurst Road, Birmingham, B30 3RA England; international telephone: +44 21 451 2924. These order forms can be photocopied.

3. Correction

An editorial error occurred in Notes on Literacy 20.4 in the first paragraph on page 43 of the article by Yasuko Nagai, *Reading Theories and Methods and Their Relationship to Cognitive and Cultural Learning Styles*. The method, 'Learning Experience Approach,' should be changed to 'Language Experience Approach'. The editor regrets the error.

4. Free Resource Materials Available for Use in Vernacular Publications

OUTREACH is a coalition of organizations that has developed the OUTREACH network for the dissemination and exchange of copyright-free information and educational resources on environment, development, and health issues that can be used by schools, NGOs, local communities, the press, radio, and television especially in low-income countries.

OUTREACH produces several OUTREACH information packs (approximately thirty to forty pages in length) each year. These include educational material on health and environment, published by internationally- and nationally-renowned organizations. The packs focus on the practical and local aspects of such issues as soil loss, diseases, fuelwood shortage, access to safe water, family planning, nutrition, vanishing species, deforestation, appropriate technologies, crops, waste, and recycling. The materials, comprising articles, classroom and practical activities, stories, radio scripts, and games are up-to-date, quality-selected, and practical. Copyright restrictions are waived by contributors for non-commercial, educational purposes in low-income countries (unless otherwise stated). In addition, OUTREACH prepares hands-on science activity sheets and teacher's notes on environment and development topics. Prepared in English, the OUTREACH packs are being translated into Arabic, Chinese, French, Portuguese, and Spanish.

OUTREACH information packs are supplied free-of-charge to OUTREACH participants—"multipliers" in low-income countries. Multipliers are people who can pass on the environment and health messages to a wider audience. They include, community workers, radio broadcasters, journalists, teachers, and curriculum developers. These OUTREACH participants may adopt all or part of the materials for inclusion in articles, activities, and local programs; adapt the materials to make them have local relevance, or add the material to existing articles and programs to complement local interest with more general information.

OUTREACH encourages the exchange of information between OUTREACH participants so that people can learn about local problems and initiatives in other countries which may have relevance to their own village, city, or district. Information and educational resources prepared by local groups may be publicized through the OUTREACH Newsletter or gathered at OUTREACH's central office at United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) in Nairobi for further distribution to other countries.

OUTREACH also encourages local initiatives by providing assistance in the development, production, and distribution of free children's environment and health magazines, instruction materials, radio scripts, TV, and video films where appropriate.

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5. Update on the 1995 Asian Reading Congress

> [Editor's note: The following was excerpted from the International Reading Association's newspaper, *Reading TODAY*, October/November 1994 edition, page 35.]

The Society for Reading and Literacy of Singapore, in conjunction with IRA's International Development in Asia Committee, will host the 1995 Asian Reading Congress June 22–24, 1995. The congress venue will be the Plaza Hotel, Singapore.

The theme of the congress is "Literacy and Biliteracy in Asia: Problems and Issues in the Next Decade," and the main language of delivery will be English.

IRA 1995–1996 President Dolores Malcolm will deliver the opening address, and other keynote speakers include Marie Clay of New Zealand and Ng Seok Moi of Brunei.

The selection of program proposals has been completed. The forty-eight papers, six symposia, eleven workshops, two show and tells, and four research roundtables that have been accepted represent twenty Asian countries as well as the United States, Australia, and Canada.

A sampling of program titles includes:

- "Issues in Literacy and Biliteracy in Newly Industrialized and Industrializing Countries in East and Southeast Asia" (paper by Anna Kwan-Terry, Singapore).
- Interdependence in Global Society: Using Literature to Create Bicultural and Multicultural Bridges to Understanding" (workshop by Kathleen Herndon, Priti Kumar, and Linda Oda, United States).
- "Shell Books: Creating Libraries for Minority Languages" (show-and-tell by Joost Pikkert, Indonesia).
- Alphabetic Biliteracy Among Children in China: The Interface of English and Hanyu Pinyin (paper by Kate Allen and Jon Ingulsrud, China).
- "How Beginning Reading Theories Account for Second Language Reading: Implications for Word Recognition and Reading, and Directions for Future Research" (research roundtable by Sophie Hsia, Hong Kong).

Participants who register before **February 28, 1995** need pay only US$135. After that date, congress fees will be US$160. For further inquiries, please contact: 1995 ARC Secretariat, c/o Tele-Temps Pte. Ltd., 102 Toa Payoh Industrial Park #06-1475, Singapore 1231. Telephone: (65) 250-7700. Fax: (65) 253-2228.

6. A Directory Of Non-Latin Scripts

For many millions of people in the world, the script of their first language is not based on the Latin alphabet. Unfortunately these scripts have received little attention from typeface manufacturers and designers. This has resulted in a lack of type quality and a very limited range of styles that is totally incompatible with the numbers of people represented. The size of the problem is still unknown, although some professionals are now expressing an interest in finding out more about the range and use of non-Latin scripts and typefaces.

In conjunction with WEC International and the Department of Typography and Graphic Communication at the University of Reading, I am assembling what we hope will be the foundation of a "directory of non-Latin scripts and their use." We are searching for informed users of non-Latin scripts to help in the compilation of this directory.

It is anticipated that this directory will describe and show how the scripts are used by indigenous speakers, irrespective of existing typeface production. This should result in:

better typefaces for users of these scripts,
a greater respect for users of these scripts,
better communications by revealing scope for change,
less ignorance,
progress in the comparative study of language,
greater respect for the variety of conventions in graphic language.

If you, or someone you know, can help then please write or phone giving the name and address of the person concerned to me:

Dr. F. R. Eade
TextLab
8 Churchfield Road
Chalfont St. Peter
Bucks, England SL9 9EN

Phone: 44 (0) 1753 882038
Fax: 44 (0) 1753 882470
Internet: eadef@wmin.ac.uk
100345.2542@compuserve.com
CIS: 100345,2542

7. Literacy Megacourse to be Offered at The University of North Dakota

June 5 to Aug. 5, 1995

For the first time, the entire semester literacy training course package, known as the Literacy Megacourse, will be offered during the summer of 1995 at North Dakota SIL. The Megacourse is comprised of three graduate courses: Principles of Literacy, Reading Theory and Applied Linguistics, and Literacy Program Planning, totaling nine graduate credit hours in linguistics with an emphasis on literacy. This one semester course package prepares a person to be a literacy specialist in SIL or to serve in literacy with another organization.

The Megacourse offers training in reading theory, three basic approaches to beginning literacy, the theory and methodology of designing a range of pedagogical and andragogical materials, principles of designing and testing a writing system, and an introduction to the full range of issues involved in designing and implementing a literacy program.

The summer course is a full semester's worth of work concentrated in nine weeks, offered June 5 to Aug. 5, 1995. The course assumes a basic knowledge of linguistics, although it is not required. Special tutoring sessions are planned for those without linguistic backgrounds.

Heading up the Megacourse staff is Dr. Pat Davis (extensive work in Peru), Diana Weber (Peru), and Elke Karan (Central African Republic). Teaching assistants and office staff will also be on hand to facilitate the program.

Consider coming to North Dakota SIL in the United States for the Literacy Megacourse. Encourage your entity colleagues and associates from home to participate also. It is a great opportunity for teachers and educators to learn more about SIL while they pursue graduate level studies in education or applied linguistics. The Dallas SIL admissions office has enrollment forms and catalogs, or contact Ilene Foote in the Dallas International Literacy Office for detailed information (Internet: Ilene.Foote@SIL.ORG). The mailing address for both the Dallas SIL admissions office and the International Literacy office is: 7500 W. Camp Wisdom Rd. Dallas, TX 75236 U.S.A. and the fax number is: 214 709-2433.

NOTES ON
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NOTES ON LITERACY

EDITOR: Judith D. Moine-Boothe

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Indigenizing Punctuation Marks

Ettien N. Koffi

Ettien Koffi and his wife, Kim, live in Bénin, West Africa. He earned M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Linguistics from Indiana University. He is the United Bible Societies' translation consultant for Bénin and Togo, where he conducts workshops and seminars on orthography matters in his consultancy work. He is also translating the New Testament into the northern dialect of Anyi.

1. Introduction

All the newly designed orthographies include punctuation marks and some styling conventions. In most cases, however, no effort has been made to teach literacy clients the functions and the significance of each punctuation mark. The importance of punctuation and styling conventions is overlooked because they are assumed to be universal. Gleason (1955:432) remarks that "people do not expect to find differences in punctuation from language to language." Since orthography specialists are literate in at least one European language, it does not even occur to them that punctuation marks and styling conventions found in these languages cannot always be duplicated for newly written languages. Consequently, as has been indicated by Samarin (1964:161), such naive assumptions have been very costly to literacy teachers and Bible translators. He notes that "an imperfect system of punctuation, whether in the use of periods, commas, colons, semi-colons, exclamation marks, questions marks, etc., can vitiate any good work done by a translator on the text itself. It can confuse or mislead the reader."

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it seeks to find out the relevant punctuation marks that should be used in newly designed orthographies. It does so by examining the syntactic and semantic functions of major punctuation marks. It is important to emphasize that only punctuation marks that have grammatical value—commas, periods, question marks, and exclamation points will be investigated here. The second goal of this article is to find appropriate labels for punctuation marks so that newly literate people can have a way of naming them. It will be argued in this article that names that represent familiar objects are to be preferred over names that depict abstract realities.

2. The syntactic and semantic functions of punctuation

Some linguists, including Hockett (1958:548), have questioned the relevance of several punctuation marks and styling conventions in new orthographies. Attempts to change styling conventions have been made for centuries by orthography reformers. However, the criticisms of orthography reformers are not shared by the editors of *Webster's Standard American Style Manual* who argue that:

> Punctuation marks are used in English writing to help clarify the structure and meaning of sentences. To some degree, they achieve this end corresponding to certain elements of the spoken language, such as pitch, volume, pause, and stress. To an even greater degree, however, punctuation marks serve to clarify structure and meaning by virtue of the fact that they conventionally accompany certain grammatical elements in a sentence, no matter how those elements might be spoken. In many cases, the relationship between punctuation and grammatical structure is such that the choice of which mark of punctuation to use in a sentence is clear and unambiguous (Morse 1985:1).

If punctuation reflects something in speech as suggested in this quotation, and if some styling conventions are syntactically significant, it means that they must be represented in the orthography of every language. I should hasten to add that not all the punctuation and styling conventions found in European languages deserve to be represented in newly designed orthographies. Proposals have been made to reduce the number of these punctuation marks and styling conventions to a minimum because, according to Hockett (1958:541) "writing systems must avoid inadequate and superfluous representations." To avoid baffling our literacy clients with unnecessary conventions, we would do well to heed the advice given by Mundhenk (1981:228). He cautions that we "should not introduce punctuation marks which are not needed in the language." For this reason, I think that for newly written languages only six punctuation marks (the comma, the period, the colon, the quotation mark, the question mark, and the exclamation mark) are really needed at the beginning. These six are necessary because they play important roles in written discourse. Moreover, they have semantic and syntactic correspondents with orality.

3. Justification of Anyi punctuation

In order to show the relevance of the punctuation marks and the styling conventions that are pertinent to written communication, we will use the Anyi language spoken in Côte d'Ivoire as an example. The guidelines presented here are not language specific. My experience with a large number of newly written languages allows me to say that the suggestions made here can be duplicated for many other languages. Of course, it is desirable that as each language develops its written literature, it will find it necessary to improve on various aspects of the proposals being made.

4. Naming punctuation markers

From Senegal to Kenya, from Sudan to South Africa, hardly any of the African languages which have been recently reduced to writing have developed a system for naming the punctuation marks that are used in their orthographies. Readers and writers of these languages who are not educated in a European language do not have any understanding of the punctuation marks they use or see in their manuals. They encounter these punctuation marks in books, but nobody has explained to them how and when they are to be used. Worse, they do not even have names in the native language to refer to these marks. It is very important that labels be given to punctuation marks in order to help literacy clients acquire some metalinguistic knowledge of the orthography of their language. For this reason I suggest, based on the Anyi example, that practical labels be found to name punctuation marks. The names I have proposed for Anyi have been carefully selected so as to reflect the shape of natural objects or to convey an ideophonic concept already used in the language. The choice of each label is followed by a brief description to show its relevance to the milieu in which the client of literacy lives. The resources the language offers can be used to the fullest to minimize the effort exerted in learning the names of the punctuation marks.

4.1 The comma: *tuɛ*

The name I propose for the comma is *tuɛ*. It is an ideophone which represents the movement the hand makes when pinching somebody. There seems to be a cultural differences in how people pinch. When the Anyi pinch somebody, they grab a little part of the skin and turn the hand slightly clockwise. The movement thus made closely resembles how a comma is formed. For this reason, pinching is a good mnemonic device for naming the comma.

The editors of *Webster's Standard American Style Manual (Morse 1985:11–13)* indicate that commas are used to show where a pause occurs naturally in speech. When one listens to oral communication, one notices that pauses occur naturally in enumerations and after certain grammatical units. Wherever such pauses occur, the orthography should take notice and use a comma to signal it in the written text. Two examples will be used to illustrate this point. The first sentence is a listing of the names of the people who went to the farm. After each name there is a small pause. In the orthography, the pause is shown by placing a comma between the listed elements:

(1) *Kasi, Yaɔ, Ama, Koffi, nın Aya b'a hɔ boo nun*
Kasi Yaɔ Ama Koffi and Aya have gone farm in
ɛlɔ.
there
Kasi, Yao, Ama, Koffi, and Aya went to the farm.

Additionally in Anyi there is a pause when *kɛ* and *sɛ* are used to set off the main clause from the subordinate clause. Therefore, the Anyi orthography should place a comma whenever these two particles occur between the main clause and the dependent clause as in example (2) below:

(2) *Kɛ ɔ ba, ɔ wunlı ewóo.*
as he came he saw snake
As he was coming, he saw a snake

There is also a slight pause between the demonstrative adjective and the coreferential subject in subject copying constructions as in example (3):

(3) *Kasi ɛka, ɔ tı man kpa.*
Kasi this he be not good
This guy, Kasi, is not nice.

Between *ɛka*, the demonstrative adjective, and ɔ, the resumptive pronoun coreferential with *Kasi*, there is a slight pause that needs to be marked in the orthography by a comma. The orthography should mark a comma in all instances where a natural pause occurs between structures.

4.2 The period : *kpɔ*

The name proposed for the period is *kpɔ*. It is an ideophone used to describe the noise that is made when water drips or when a pointed object comes into contact with a hard surface. There are some conventions that are attached to the use of the period. Since these conventions are much debated in the literature, we should take time to analyze the pros and cons of using special styling conventions for newly written languages.

The use of a capital letter after a period or in proper names has come under attack by orthography reformers, especially from the activists of the Simplified Spelling Society. They argue that the distinction between upper case and lower case letters is useless and constitutes a burden for learners because "the beginner has to learn two or more different letters for each character in the alphabet" (Vallins 1973:139). Therefore, they argue that allographs should not be represented in the orthography. It seems that the Direction Nationale de l'Aphabetisation Fonctionelle (DNAFLA) in Mali has opted for this solution. In some of their newer manuals no upper case letter is used at the beginning of a sentence nor for proper names.

I suggest that the distinction be maintained between upper and lower case letters in newly designed orthographies because the argument against it is too weak. If human beings can store billions of bytes of information, they can certainly remember forty or so alphabetic symbols. There has not been any documented proof that Hebrew or Greek children have a harder time reading and writing their respective languages because of allographs. Furthermore, the distinction between lower case letters and upper case letters is so universal that if it is not maintained in new orthographies, the speakers of the language who are already proficient in one of the European languages may boycott the new orthography. Mundhenk (1981:228) notes that "in order to get people to accept the punctuation system, you may have to make it look like that of the punctuation used in languages they are already familiar with." Since European languages use upper and lower case letters in their orthographies, I propose that capital letters be used in new orthographies as well. Orthography specialists should bear in mind that for many governments and for many literacy clients, literacy in a local language should ultimately facilitate the transfer of literacy skills from that language into the European or national language used in the country. It is, therefore, better to maintain, as much as possible, the same styling conventions used in the dominant European language. Smalley (1964:4) remarks that

> for areas where Roman writing systems are known, however, Roman orthographies without capital letters for minority languages in which the speakers feel cultural insecurity may contribute to the rejection of the system. It appears to them as being substandard, less than completely identified with the prestige system.

The current sociolinguistic situation indicates clearly that many of our literacy clients still have some cultural insecurity vis-à-vis the former colonial languages. For our literacy programs to have a chance to succeed, we need to be realistic and take this social dimension into account. Therefore, I propose that capital letters be used in abbreviations, for proper names, and for the first letter of sentences after a period, a question mark, and an exclamation point.

4.3 The colon: *kpʋkpɔ*

The name *kpʋkpɔ* that I propose is simply the reduplicated form of the word *kpɔ*, the name for the period. Since reduplication is used to signal plurality in Anyi, it seems logical to name the colon *kpʋkpɔ* instead of finding another label for it. In *Webster's Standard American Style Manual* it is argued that a colon introduces a clause or phrase that explains, illustrates, or restates what has gone before. It is also used in long quotations. Furthermore, it directs attention to an appositive, it is used in dialogues or follows a brief heading or an introductory term. In the example below, colons are used in a morning salutation exchange between Koffi and Aya:

(4) Koffi: *Mmo ahıın o o o.*
Koffi Madam morning
Koffi: Good morning, Madam.
Aya: *Nja ɛyɛrɛ o o o.*
Aya Sir coldness[1]
Aya: Good morning, Sir.

4.4 Quotation mark : *tutuɛ*

The name *tutuɛ* is also the reduplicated form of the word *tuɛ* used above to refer to the comma. The plural form of *tuɛ* is used here to refer to the quotation mark. It is used because of the similarities in shape between the quotation mark and the comma. Anyi has two quotative words which are *wan*, a verb-like structure, and the particle *kɛ*. *Kɛ* has several other functions in the language, one of which is to serve as a quotative marker. Both words are used by speakers when they want to explain themselves or quote somebody else, as illustrated by example (5):

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[1] The gloss of *ɛyɛrɛ* is hard to determine. The primary meaning of the word is "coldness." For instance, it is used to talk about the coolness of the weather or when someone is shivering. However, as a response in greetings, it is translated, "Good morning." So, the gloss provided reflects the root meaning of the term.

(5) *Kasi bisaˆlɩ Aya kosan. Yɩ*
Kasi ask COMPLETED ACTION MORPHEME Aya question he
wan: "wan waá yiele wɔ?"
said who child it you
Kasi asked Aya a question. He said: "Whose child are you?"

The colon should occur immediately after *wan* and the material quoted should be enclosed within quotation marks.

It has been argued that quotation marks are not needed for some African languages because they have quotative markers such as *wan* and *kɛ* above. Though this is a valid point, it should nevertheless be noted that these quotation markers only introduce the piece of discourse that is quoted. There is no language which to my knowledge has a lexical element which indicates the end of quotations. If one relies only on quotation openers that these languages have, and one does not use quotation marks in the orthography, one will find it difficult to know exactly where a quotation ends. To avoid such problems, it is better to use quotation mark conventions to mark off clearly the beginning and the end of quoted discourse.

4.5 The question mark: *tɔkɔlɔ*

The question mark, *tɔkɔlɔ*, is named after an instrument which is like a sickle. It is used by farmers to hold tall grass while the other hand uses the machete to cut it. It has a curve at the upper end and a long tail. It looks just like the form of a question mark.

The use of question marks in newly designed orthographies is a much debated issue among specialists. Some advocate the use of question marks at the end of a sentence as they are used in many European languages. Others remark that for some languages, it is better to place the question mark at the beginning of interrogative sentences. Still others suggest a solution which consists in placing two question marks, one at the beginning and one at the end of interrogative sentences as is done in Spanish. In Spanish, however, the initial question mark is written upside down. This convention has been adopted by the translators of the Baule New Testament. Before accepting or refusing any one of these three proposals, it is important that orthography designers pay attention to the overall structure of the interrogative sentences in the language under consideration.

Many languages make a distinction between YES/NO QUESTIONS and WH—QUESTIONS. In general, there is no syntactic difference between a yes/no question and a declarative sentence. Only suprasegmental features (sentence-final phonetic features) can help distinguish the two. Unfortunately prosodic features which distinguish declarative sentences from yes/no questions in oral communication cannot be represented orthographically to differentiate written texts from oral texts. There is, therefore, a great risk of confusion, especially in longer sentences, if nothing is done in the orthography to distinguish yes/no questions from declarative sentences. For this reason, some have advocated the use of question marks at the beginning of yes/no sentences to set them off from declarative sentences. I have no objection to this convention if yes/no questions are the only types of questions that are found in this language. However, if wh-questions are also found, one should analyze them first before making a ruling on the issue.

Wh-questions are defined as interrogative sentences in which question words such as when, which, what, where, who, why, and how occur. In general, where such question words exist, they appear at the beginning of sentences. Since yes/no questions occur infrequently in written literature, the decision about question mark conventions should be based on the distribution of wh—question words. Also, since in most cases these words occur primarily at the beginning of sentences, the question mark symbol should not be placed in sentence initial position but rather at the end of the sentence. However, if there are languages where wh—words occur only at the end of the sentence, then the question mark should occur at the beginning of the sentence. On the other hand, there are languages such as Anyi where the wh—words can occur both at the beginning of the sentence and at the end of the sentence. For such languages, the convention about the placement of the question mark should be based on frequency of occurrence. In Anyi like in English the wh—word may occur in sentence final position right after the verb for emphasis as seen in the examples below:

(6) *Kasi lɛ di nzu?*
Kasi is eating what
What is Kasi eating?

However, in non-emphatic sentences, the wh—word *nzu* occurs at the beginning of the sentence immediately followed by *yiɛ* as in sentence (7) below:

(7) *Nzu yɩɛ Kasi lɛ di?*
what that Kasi is eating
What is Kasi eating?

For this group of languages the question mark should appear at the end of the sentence since the wh—word at the beginning of the sentence has already alerted the reader that that sentence is an interrogative sentence. In general, a good analysis of the distribution of question words will obviate the need for two question marks. There is, in my opinion, no need for two question marks in Baule because its question pattern is exactly like that of Anyi.

4.6 The exclamation mark: *nvunʋɔn*

I propose that the exclamation mark be named *nvunʋɔn* (which means surprise, excitement). Its function in many languages is to express interjections, surprises, excitement, and forceful comments. Exclamation marks can be used along with ideophonic expressions to express forceful comments as in sentence (8):

(8) *Mɩn kɔ, kpenzeyii! Mɩn nɩn Kasi a yɩa.*
I go suddenly I and Kasi ASPECT MARKER meet
Guess whom I saw, Kasi!

5. Conclusion

The heuristic principles which have helped us find suitable mnemonic devices to label some punctuation marks can be found in every language. Furthermore, they can be extended to other conventions, for example, the dashes —, the parentheses ( ), the curly brackets { }, the brackets [ ], and the angle brackets < >. As literacy takes deeper roots in the language, and as mathematics and other scientific subjects are taught, there will be the need to find other labels beyond the six grammatically-based punctuation marks that I have dealt with in this article. It is the responsibility of the orthography specialist not only to teach the use of those conventions, but also to find suitable labels for them. Experience has shown that the labels that are more easily remembered are those that represent objects with which the literacy client is already familiar.

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Literacy Acquisition among Peruvian Amazon Communities

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Editor's Note: The following article is a chapter from a Master of Arts thesis completed in December, 1991 by Barbara Trudell at the University of Texas at Arlington (UTA). The thesis was published by SIL and UTA in 1993. The conclusions as presented in this chapter summarize the results of the study. Since this topic is of primary interest to those working in language projects where the vernacular must compete with a second language, we felt it worthwhile to publish the chapter here. The abstract is also included to set the chapter in its context.

1. Abstract

This study examines historical, sociolinguistic, and educational factors which have affected literacy acquisition in Spanish and the vernacular among six minority ethnolinguistic groups of the Peruvian jungle: Aguaruna, Yagua, Sharanahua, Yaminahua, Culina, and Shipibo. The history of each group is traced, from its initial contact with the outside world up to the present. Characteristics of ethnic identity and language use are identified, using three distinct models of ethnicity and language/culture maintenance. Development of educational programs in each group is also examined. Finally, profiles are constructed for the groups studied, and factors are identified which appear to have influenced literacy acquisition in Spanish and in the vernacular among those groups.

2. Introduction

An examination of historical evidence, models of ethnic identity and language use, and educational experience among the Aguaruna, Yagua, Sharanahua, Yaminahua, Culina, Shipibo, Asheninca, Pajonal Campa, Ashaninca, and Machiguenga language groups has yielded a number of factors which appear to affect literacy acquisition among those groups. In this chapter, these factors are combined and examined in an effort to discover general patterns of literacy acquisition in the vernacular and in Spanish. Specifically, an answer is sought to research question 9: what factors may be seen to encourage or discourage vernacular literacy acquisition and Spanish literacy acquisition?[1]

As this question is addressed, one point should be made regarding the following analysis: the association of a given factor with a given language group in this study does not mean that the factor is present only in that group. Factors are associated with certain language groups based on the data available; the limitations of that data do not always allow verification of the presence or absence of a factor in every group studied. For example, more data was found on the effects of disease epidemics in the twentieth century among the Yaminahua than among the Aguaruna. The reporting of such data for the Yaminahua and not for the Aguaruna does not mean that the Aguaruna were unaffected by epidemics, however, but only that the data available does not touch on that issue. The intent of this study is to identify factors which appear to affect literacy acquisition, not to specify certain factors as exclusive to one group or another.

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[1] Ideally, the factors uncovered by this study will be pertinent to any case of vernacular or language of wider communication (LWC) literacy, not just the Peruvian Amazon case. However, the sample and methods used in this study are not broad enough to make such applications to other sociolinguistic situations. Therefore, the results reported here are described within the confines of the study; application of the results to other sociocultural milieus is left for future investigation.

3. Specific factors

Several aspects of the language groups studied were found to have had some kind of effect on literacy acquisition, either in Spanish or in the vernacular. The following factors appear to have been of specifically positive or negative influence in literacy acquisition. Each factor mentioned is followed by the name of at least one ethnolinguistic group studied which demonstrates the effect described. Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 give tabular representations of the various factors discussed below.

3.1 Positive and negative factors affecting vernacular literacy acquisition (VLA)

Historical factors which were found to have positive effects on VLA include isolation from the outside world, historically or present-day; such isolation facilitates the maintenance of high prestige for the vernacular (Aguaruna; Ashaninca; Machiguenga; Sharanahua). Another factor with positive effects is a history of domination over other indigenous groups, which has facilitated development of a strong ethnic identity (Shipibo; Aguaruna). A third positive factor is significant control by a group over its own economic development (Shipibo; Machiguenga; Aguaruna; Ashaninca).

Negative historical factors for VLA include a high degree of contact with the outside world, leading to a decrease in the population and in the strength of a group's ethnic identity (Yagua; Asheninca; the Purús River groups—the Sharanahua, Yaminahua, and Culina—in the early twentieth century). This contact can either be long-term (Yagua; Asheninca) or short-term but very intense. The latter usually centers around the rubber boom (Machiguenga; Purús River groups), but may have occurred later as well (Pajonal Campa).

Positive VLA factors concerning ethnic identity and language use include a sense of control over one's life and future (Aguaruna; Shipibo; Sharanahua); and a sense of ethnic and economic self-sufficiency (Shipibo; Sharanahua; Culina; Machiguenga). Additional positive factors include a high degree of sentimental and instrumental attachment to the mother tongue (Aguaruna; Ashaninca; Shipibo; Purús River groups; Machiguenga); little attempt at assimilation to outside culture (Machiguenga; Purús River groups); and continued viability of traditional customs (Shipibo; Ashaninca; Aguaruna; Machiguenga; Sharanahua). A final positive VLA factor is the establishment of one or more strong domains for vernacular literacy (seen clearly in the strong support of the indigenous Christian church for VLA in the case of the Aguaruna, Sharanahua, Ashaninca, and Yaminahua; also in the existence of multiple domains among the Machiguenga).

Figure 1. Factors found to positively affect vernacular literacy acquisition in the groups studied

Category	Positive factors
Historical	Isolation: historical or present
	History of domination over other Indian groups
	Control over own economic development
Ethnicity-related	Sense of control over life and future
	Ethnic and economic self-sufficiency
	High sentimental attachment to mother tongue
	Little attempt made at assimilation to national culture
	Viability of traditional customs
	Strong domain(s) for vernacular literacy
Education	High regard for learning
	Willingness to live in larger communities for the sake of bilingual schooling
	Strong bilingual education program
	Perceived purpose for learning and education
	Vernacular literacy instruction available
	Family "habit" of vernacular literacy
	The educational reform leading to greater indigenous control in schools

Negative VLA factors of ethnic identity and language use were found to include a lack of sense of control over one's choices and future (Yagua; Pajonal Campa; a possibility for the Purús River groups if outside contact is significantly increased), the absence of instrumental (Pajonal Campa) or sentimental attachment to the mother tongue (Yagua; some Asheninca); failed attempts at assimilation to the outside culture (Yagua); and a lapse in use of traditional customs (Yagua; some Asheninca) and leadership structures (Pajonal Campa).

Educational factors which appear to affect VLA in a positive way include a high regard for learning (Aguaruna; Shipibo); and some motivation or purpose for vernacular education (Aguaruna; Machiguenga; present Pajonal Campa). These two factors can cause a high enough interest in formal education that people become willing to join together in larger communities than they are accustomed to (Aguaruna; some Machiguenga; some Pajonal Campa). Other positive factors include a strong bilingual education program in the group (Aguaruna; Shipibo; Machiguenga; Ashaninca); the promotion of vernacular literacy instruction for adults (Purús River groups); having at least one close relative who is already literate in the vernacular (Ashaninca); and educational reform results which led to increased indigenous control in the bilingual education program (Aguaruna; Machiguenga).

Figure 2. Factors found to negatively affect vernacular literacy acquisition in the groups studied

Category	Negative factors
Historical	High degree of contact with the outside world
Ethnicity	Lack of sense of control over destiny
	Decreased sentimental or instrumental attachment to mother tongue
	Failed attempts at assimilation to national culture
	Lapse in use of customs and traditional leadership
Education	Desire for education only in Spanish
	No bilingual school or a poorly functioning one
	No adult vernacular literacy promotion
	The educational reform damaged bilingual school system

Educational factors that demonstrate a negative effect on VLA include the desire for education only in Spanish, which indicates little or no motivation for vernacular education (Yagua; some Asheninca); a poorly functioning bilingual school system or none at all (Yagua; Pajonal Campa; Asheninca until 1980); little or no promotion of adult vernacular literacy (Yagua; Asheninca); and damage done by the reform to the bilingual education system in the region (Culina; Shipibo; Ashaninca).

3.2 Positive and negative factors affecting Spanish literacy acquisition (SLA)

Historical factors found to have had a positive effect on SLA include long-term contact with the outside world, making Spanish fluency possible (Asheninca of the Perené valley; Shipibo; Yagua); and a high degree of economic or other interaction which required fluency in Spanish (Shipibo; Aguaruna; Perené Asheninca; Yagua). Other factors seem to include strong opportunities for trade and other commerce with the outside world (Shipibo; Machiguenga), and the location of economic development in indigenous hands (Aguaruna; Shipibo; Machiguenga).

Negative historical factors for SLA include historical and present-day isolation from the outside world, which have provided little opportunity for gaining Spanish fluency (Purús River groups; Ashaninca; Pajonal Campa; Machiguenga). Another is a low degree of economic advantage associated with Spanish fluency; this may result from geographical location (Purús River groups) or from a type of interaction with outsiders which only involves exploitation of Indian labor (Yagua; Pajonal Campa; Purús River groups).

Ethnic identity and language use factors which appear to affect SLA in a positive way include a nonisolationist attitude towards outsiders (Shipibo; Yagua; Asheninca); a significant degree of assimilation to Spanish-speaking culture (Yagua; Shipibo; some

Asheninca); and a significant instrumental attachment to Spanish (Aguaruna; Shipibo; Yagua; Asheninca).

Factors affecting SLA in a negative way include an intentionally isolationist attitude towards outsiders (Aguaruna; Sharanahua; Yaminahua; Machiguenga; Ashaninca); a low degree of assimilation to LWC culture (Sharanahua; Yaminahua; Machiguenga); and low instrumental attachment to Spanish (Purús River groups; Machiguenga; Ashaninca).

Educational factors found to affect SLA in a positive manner include a high regard for learning (Aguaruna; Shipibo); and motivation for learning Spanish in particular (Machiguenga; Asheninca). Other factors have to do with opportunities for learning Spanish, such as a strong Spanish component in school (Shipibo; Yagua) and the availability of schooling in Spanish either before or other than the local bilingual schools (Aguaruna; Shipibo; Yagua; Perené Asheninca). High schools located in the indigenous communities appear to be especially important here (Machiguenga; Aguaruna). An additional positive factor has to do with results of the educational reform which increased nonindigenous influence in the community bilingual schools (Shipibo). Finally, the presence of the "habit" of Spanish literacy or schooling in the family (Asheninca) is a positive factor for SLA.

Negative educational factors for SLA were found to include a lack of opportunities for learning Spanish in school; this lack occurs where the bilingual teacher is not fluent in Spanish (Purús River groups) and also where no nonbilingual schools have operated (Purús River groups; Pajonal Campa). A related factor here is the lack of opportunities for learning Spanish outside the bilingual school (Purús River groups; Ashaninca; Machiguenga; Pajonal Campa). Another negative educational factor for SLA is little or no interest in formal education at all (Purús River groups). See figures 3 and 4 for a summary of the above-discussed factors.

Figure 3. Factors found to positively affect Spanish literacy acquisition in the groups studied

Category	Positive factors
Historical	Long-term contact with the outside world
	High degree of interaction with outside world
	Strong opportunities for trade with the outside world
	Control over own economic development
Ethnicity	Nonisolationism
	High degree of assimilation to national culture
	Strong instrumental attachment to Spanish
Education	High regard for learning
	Willingness to gather in larger communities
	Strong Spanish component in school
	Availability of schools other than or beyond bilingual grade school
	Family "habit" of schooling and Spanish literacy
	The educational reform increased nonindigenous influence in bilingual schools

Figure 4. Factors found to negatively affect Spanish literacy acquisition in the groups studied

Category	Negative factors
Historical	Geographical isolation from the outside world
	Little economic advantage to Spanish fluency
Ethnicity	Isolationism
	Low degree of assimilation to national culture
	Low instrumental attachment to Spanish
Education	Few opportunities to learn Spanish

4. Factors with multiple effects

The factors described above have been observed to affect VLA or SLA in at least one of the ethnolinguistic groups studied. Certain factors also appear to have effects on literacy acquisition in both the vernacular and Spanish (see figure 5).

Figure 5. Factors found to have multiple effects in groups studied

+VLA +SLA:	High regard for learning, for formal education
	Strong bilingual education program, including Spanish component
	Opportunitites for economic development that are controlled by group
	Willingness to live in larger communities for schooling
+VLA -SLA:	Geographical isolation
	Isolationism, little assimilation attempted to national culture
-VLA +SLA:	Long-term, high contact, subordinate relationships with outside world
	Successful assimilation to national culture
-VLA -SLA:	Failed attempts at assimilation to national culture
	No interest in literacy or education
	Strongly subordinate economic relationships with the outside world

Positive factors which appear to affect both VLA and SLA include a high regard for learning and for formal education; a strong bilingual education program, including a strong Spanish component (in which the teachers are reasonably fluent in Spanish); and a situation in which there is opportunity for economic development and in which control of such development is in the hands of the indigenous group. An additional factor is the willingness of a group to gather into communities large enough to support a bilingual (or indeed any) school.

Factors which affect VLA positively and SLA negatively include a high degree of isolation from the outside world, historically and at the present time; and an attitude of isolationism, in which there is little desire to assimilate to Spanish culture.

Factors found to affect VLA negatively and SLA positively include a long-term, high-contact subordinate relationship with the outside world in which interaction requires Spanish fluency and attempted assimilation to Spanish society.

Factors which affect both VLA and SLA negatively appear to include a failed attempt to assimilate to nonindigenous society; lack of interest in literacy and education; and a subordinate economic relationship with nonindigenous culture that only involves manual labor on the part of the Indian (no higher-level bargaining, commerce, or dealings with the nonindigenous people).

For the most part, the pattern of factors and their effects described here holds no surprises. Degree of physical isolation, attitude toward one's own mother tongue, presence or absence of a domain for vernacular literacy, and extent of application of an education program could all be expected to influence literacy acquisition in the vernacular and in Spanish. Two factors, however, are perhaps more surprising: the apparent importance of a sense of self-sufficiency (paralleled by actual control over economic development) to both vernacular literacy acquisition and Spanish literacy acquisition; and the negative effects on literacy acquisition in both languages of a failed attempt to assimilate to the dominant culture. These factors, taken along with the more expected factors, provide a unique perspective on vernacular literacy acquisition and Spanish literacy acquisition.

5. Discussion

5.1 Comments on the research instruments

The three directions of investigation—historical evidence, patterns of ethnic identity and language use, and educational experience—revealed a great deal about the status of vernacular literacy acquisition and Spanish literacy acquisition among the groups studied. As a qualitative study, this one has addressed such aspects as extent of bilingualism and literacy rates in a general way; quantitative investigation of these aspects could add another dimension to the issue.

Of the three investigative directions taken, the one involving ethnic identity and language use is probably the most unique to this study. The models used to analyze patterns of ethnic identity, attachment to the mother tongue and the second language, and factors influencing language change and social change (Ross 1979, Kelman 1971, Lewis 1982) allowed a synthesis of information and the construction of an overall profile of each group's status in this area. However, in two cases (the Aguaruna and Shipibo) the Ross model seemed insufficient to explain the pattern of ethnic identity and language use. Revision or extension of the model to include such cases might prove valuable.

5.2 Some implications of this study

5.2.1 Contact, bilingualism, and biliteracy. The data presented above demonstrate some important points about cross-cultural contact, bilingualism, and biliteracy. First, it appears to be a general rule that greater contact of an indigenous group with the outside world leads to greater damage to the indigenous culture and sense of ethnic identity. The fragility of the indigenous culture when it is brought into contact with the more powerful, more numerous, more technologically advanced dominant culture is demonstrated over and over in the Peruvian Amazon. The Shipibo, who have managed to stave off complete assimilation despite extensive contact with the nonindigenous world, are an anomaly; this makes their case especially interesting, but it is not typical of the Amazonian ethnolinguistic groups. Thus, degree of isolation from the outside world remains a fairly reliable measure of cultural integrity and ethnic identity.

A second point that is amply demonstrated is that Spanish literacy is predicated on Spanish fluency. Though this relationship seems obvious, its application to education programs is often overlooked. Fluency in a second language is not attained merely through five class hours of instruction per week for six school years; rather, fluency is attained in an environment where the second language is spoken and heard on a more frequent and practical basis. So it is that a Culina student graduating from grade school in a remote community may still not have enough Spanish ability to be literate in that language, while a Shipibo grade-school graduate may possess much stronger Spanish language and literacy skills.

Given these two observations, one might ask whether biliteracy is possible or even desirable for the Amazonian Indian groups. What is the point of promoting both vernacular literacy and literacy in the language most threatening to the vernacular? Will promoting national language literacy not actually harm those who need vernacular literacy the most, making literacy in any language less likely? And pragmatically, why bother with vernacular literacy at all when its uses are so limited compared with Spanish literacy? These are important questions. Still, biliteracy for minority peoples is the goal of both Peruvian government education policy and many indigenous leaders; indeed, examples of successful achievement of this goal do exist (among Aguaruna and Shipibo communities, for example).

The advantages of biliteracy for the Amazonian language groups are certainly substantial. Literacy in the vernacular promotes maintenance of a positive sense of ethnic identity; Spanish literacy offers better access to fair and profitable interaction with the outside world. Biliteracy can give a group the tools it needs to maintain its identity and to deal as it chooses with the outside world.

However, it seems clear that efforts to promote biliteracy must take into account the potential dangers of this goal for most Peruvian Indian groups. The attainment of an ideal biliteracy, one which involves both the use of two languages and the maintenance of a group's own ethnic identity, will require (1) an environment in which Spanish may be learned naturally, yet without threatening the vernacular language and culture; and (2) an exceptionally strong people, secure in their group identity, who can learn Spanish and still withstand the pressure to assimilate to national language and culture. Without at least one of these two conditions, the outlook for successful biliteracy among the Amazonian groups is bleak. In this study, only the Shipibo and the Aguaruna appear to have come close to successful biliteracy; most of the rest, for one reason or another, have not.

5.2.2 Economic development and literacy. The relationship between economic issues and literacy is complex. Though the impact of economic and instrumental attachment to the mother tongue or second language has been examined, other factors enter into the equation also.

Degree of economic development depends in many cases on a group's geographical situation. The Culina and Sharanahua of the upper Purús River have little means of developing significant commercial ties with the outside world since the only market permitted them is upriver and on another river system. They thus maintain themselves fairly comfortably through a subsistence economy and are relatively self-sufficient. Among these groups, vernacular literacy acquisition has been more successful than Spanish literacy acquisition. The Shipibo, on the other hand, have easy river access to the city of Pucallpa and surrounding communities. They have developed commercially to such an extent that their economic development is largely under their control. In both of these cases, the attainment of self-sufficiency and control of the means of production has contributed to a positive sense of ethnic identity and a positive attitude towards the vernacular. However, for the Shipibo, Spanish has gained instrumental value since, for them, trade possibilities with the Spanish-speaking world are widely available.

A third case, the Yagua, demonstrates the results of a lifestyle which is economically dependent on outsiders. Living in areas of easy access to the outside world, the Yagua have been exploited by generations of landowners and entrepreneurs. Economic development of the region is not under Yagua control; rather, they work as manual laborers for non-Indian landlords and others. Alicea[2] reports that the more isolated Yagua practice subsistence agriculture, but many more Yagua are urbanized to the extent that they depend on employers for their living. One result of such dependence on the outside world has been a negative attitude about the vernacular language and culture. In addition, though instrumental attachment to Spanish is higher, Spanish literacy holds little promise of improving the Yagua's economic conditions.

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[2] Neftalí Alicea in a personal interview with the author on July 12, 1989.—ED.

So it is that economic development, itself influenced by geographical and historical factors, also reveals something about literacy acquisition in the vernacular and in Spanish.

5.2.3 Assimilation versus maintenance of traditional culture. At first glance, it would seem that assimilation to the majority culture and maintenance of traditional ways are diametrically opposed. In fact this is not always true, as the Shipibo (and to some extent the Aguaruna and Purús River groups) demonstrate. The Shipibo, with a centuries-long history of contact with the outside world, are one of the most modernized of the Amazonian Indian groups. Shipibo participate in the national higher-education system, have extensive commercial interaction with nonindigenous people (and even foreigners), and tend to have better Spanish skills than many groups. Undeniably, the Shipibo have assimilated to the Spanish culture in some ways: men's dress and hair style, commercial methods, and some aspects of their sociopolitical world. However, in other areas the Shipibo remain solidly in their own culture. Their heavy use of the vernacular is one of these areas; maintenance of traditional art forms is another.

The Aguaruna, though more removed from Spanish culture than the Shipibo, also demonstrate signs of assimilation to majority culture. Old customs such as revenge killing, puberty rituals, and the passing on of traditional myths and legends are being dropped in the face of modern Peruvian laws and Western religion. Nonetheless, the Aguaruna have maintained much of their culture, including widespread use of the vernacular.

It seems that as Amazonian Indian groups perceive the need to assimilate to nonindigenous culture, such assimilation is neither random nor (usually) complete. Both the Shipibo and the Aguaruna have given up many of their more unusual outward idiosyncrasies (such as deformation of the forehead and elaborate feather headdresses); neither group is willing to give up its language. In fact, there is evidence that these peoples are modernizing their languages with the times and perceive them as perfectly acceptable mediums of instruction at the high school and university level.

5.2.4 Program implications. Several implications for educational programs may be drawn from this study. First, a group's regard for formal education should be considered before deciding on what type of education program to apply. If the group has demonstrated a low regard for formal learning, then low participation must be expected in any new formal programs instituted. A high regard for learning, on the other hand, means a strong likelihood of indigenous participation in almost any education program begun. Second, no matter how high a group's opinion of its mother tongue, vernacular literacy instruction is necessary for vernacular literacy to be acquired. At least among the Amazon Indian groups, vernacular literacy is seldom "just picked up"; schooling does not automatically teach it, nor are casual opportunities for reading in the vernacular abundant. A specific vernacular literacy instruction component is necessary to any program with literacy goals. Third, the Shipibo case points to the value of established domains for vernacular language and literacy in a highly bilingual situation. Only with those domains are stable bilingualism and biliteracy possible. In a number of groups, the desire of the indigenous Christian church to read vernacular Scriptures has provided a domain for vernacular literacy. Certainly, possibilities exist for establishing other domains; in any case, such domains are essential to ongoing vernacular literacy acquisition among the Amazon groups.

5.2.5 Implications for change agents. The social, political, and economic difficulties of the indigenous people of the Peruvian Amazon are numerous. Almost as numerous are the private organizations that have focused on study or development of the region and its people. From political action to experimental cattle farms, projects abound whose goal is some kind of change in the lot of the Amazonian Indians. One of the most important resources a development-oriented organization can have, however, is a sense of what aspects of a culture can and cannot be changed.

One factor that cannot be changed is the history of the Amazonian people. Their experience with, and expectations of, nonindigenous society are firmly based in historical events; development attempts which ignore this experience are short-sighted and likely to fail. Geographical limitations are another factor which must be reckoned with. A people's ties to their land may be beyond reason and deeply rooted, and migration patterns are not necessarily given up easily. Furthermore, geographical isolation may be intentional and necessary in the eyes of a particular group.

Ethnic identity may be more amenable to change, although it too has a significant historical component. The change agent who is present at a critical point in a group's history can sometimes help strengthen its sense of ethnic identity, especially if the change agent has strong credibility for the group. Certainly, a change agent with medical resources can help prevent epidemics and mitigate other medical catastrophes, which in turn could prevent eradication or decimation of a group. However, it should be understood that ethnic identity and language attitudes develop over many years and may go deeper than the outsider's ability to effect change.

Development efforts in the Amazon must take into account these cultural and historical aspects of the indigenous people and not be naive about the power of a short-term project or solution to change deeply rooted attitudes and traditions. Even the forty-year-old bilingual education program, as well as it has been accepted in some groups, has not been able to override preexisting attitudes and social structures of others.

5.3 Speculation on other factors affecting literacy acquisition

The factors discussed in this study were based on an analysis of only ten of the several dozen Amazonian Indian groups in Peru. Analysis of more groups would undoubtedly reveal more factors that have affected literacy acquisition in the vernacular and Spanish. Based on my general knowledge of the Amazonian language groups, I would speculate that evidence might be found for some other specific factors. One of these is the size of the language group population. The groups examined in this study range from 200 to over 20,000 members, rather a wide spread. Some other Amazonian groups number fewer than 100 members; it would be interesting to find out how very small-group size affects attitudes toward the vernacular and toward national language and culture.

Another factor which deserves a closer look is the effect of the traditional semi-nomadic character of groups like the Pajonal

Campa, Machiguenga, and Purús River groups on the bilingual education program. Historically, the establishment of bilingual schools in indigenous communities caused people to gather in communities larger than they were accustomed to and to stay put for longer. It would be interesting to study the effects of extended community life on the Amazonian Indians. Is such a life unacceptable to some groups? Answers to these and related questions could provide valuable insight into the issues of Spanish literacy acquisition and bilingual education among semi-nomadic peoples.

An additional factor which would be interesting to study further has to do with the effects of outsiders who demonstrate esteem for, and interest in, the vernacular language and culture. It appears that such outsiders may have significant impact on the language and culture attitudes of the indigenous people. This impact is apparent among several groups in the present study: for instance, stimulation of economic development among the Machiguenga and Ashaninca did not detract from their esteem for their culture and language. Also, the Yagua's recent revival of interest in bilingual schools and vernacular literacy is most likely attributable to the influence of an anthropological organization which has been promoting ethnic mobilization among the Yagua. Further evidence of such outsider impact is seen in the observation of several SIL field linguists that their indigenous friends from the Purús River groups make a point of speaking to the linguists in the vernacular, even in nonindigenous towns.

The pro-vernacular impact of outsiders has another manifestation, which Seymour-Smith (1984:52) has noted. In discussing the positive reaction of the Jívaro (a language group related to the Aguaruna) to the message of recent Protestant Christian missionaries, she gives two reasons for the Jívaro's enthusiastic reception of the "new religion." First, this religion does not originate in the Spanish-speaking nonindigenous world (which is primarily Catholic), but rather among foreigners who are outside of the "normal social universe of the region." Second, this religion has come to the Indians via their own language, not Spanish. The use of the vernacular in both spoken and written form gives this new religion great appeal in the eyes of the Jívaro. Not only that, but the use of the vernacular also excludes nonindigenous people from participating in this religion. The result, says Seymour-Smith, is "a strong desire among the evangelized Jívaros to form a new ethnic identity which incorporates [the new religion]; in this way they can exclude nonindigenous and reinforce the authority of the new native leaders" (Seymour-Smith 1984:53, my translation). Such an isolationist tendency hardly seems surprising, given the historically abusive nature of contact between nonindigenous society and the Amazonian Indians. Indeed, evidence found in the present study indicates that the Sharanahua (at least in the town of Gasta Bala) may be undergoing the same type of isolationist cultural revitalization coupled with a strong indigenous Christian church. Given such apparently strong ethnic effects, and given the close relationship between ethnic identity and vernacular literacy acquisition, this issue certainly merits further investigation.

6. Conclusion

The interplay of historical events, ethnic identity, language use patterns, geographical location, economic characteristics, and education program factors has given each of the language groups studied a unique character. Acquisition of literacy in the vernacular or in Spanish has depended on multiple factors, as each group has acted within the unique history and reality that are its own. Many of the factors affecting literacy acquisition are common to several groups; others are evident in only one or two. However, the various combinations of and interaction between those factors have brought about the individual groups' responses to literacy in the vernacular and in Spanish.

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An Experiment in Mayan Poetry

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Editor's Note: Although the following article was written several years ago, we felt including it would be beneficial due to the extremely limited research in poetry among recently written languages.

1. Introduction

Some say that a people group does not have a true body of literature until they have poetry. If such is the case, the highland Mayan people of Guatemala have had an indigenous literature, albeit for the most part unwritten, during their entire history. Poetic devices are a key aspect of their oral communication, especially their ritual communication. However, because contemporary written Mayan poetry is almost nonexistent, there is a desire on the part of some Mayans to develop the written genre for today's Mayan. It is the purpose of this article to report on an experimental workshop held in Guatemala, Central America, designed to bring the unwritten, subconscious forms into the written genre by reintroducing today's Mayan writers to their poetic heritage. The workshops were held with Quiché (1981), Mam (1982), and Cakchiquel (1983) native speakers under the auspices of the

Asociación de Escritores Mayances de Guatemala[1] and the Summer Institute of Linguistics of Central America.

2. Background

As Paul Townsend notes in the introduction to his study, *Ritual Rhetoric from Cotzal* (1980:51), there is a paucity of study in the poetic genre of the Mayan languages. Those few who have approached the theme have focused on the *Popul Vuj*[2] (Edmonson 1973b), on proverbs (Gossen 1973, 1974), and on areas not overtly poetic but which shed some light on the topic, such as Bricker's (1973) study of Chamula Tzotzil insults.

Scarce as the study has been, however, there is an identifiable theme which unifies the descriptions. That recurring theme is the importance of semantic couplets or parallelisms in Mayan poetic genre.

The present generation of Mayans has not had the benefit of knowing the poetic disciplines of its own language. Although all workshop participants were native speakers of a Mayan language, they were effectively Spanish-dominant. They had learned a Mayan language as infants, perhaps even hearing fathers or grandfathers tell traditional stories from the *Popul Vuj*. They had, however, acquired all of their formal education in Spanish. This dominance of Spanish in their education and in adult life created a Spanish overlay which dominated the deep structures of their native tongues. Most of the participants had no previous experience with poetry other than the primary school verses recited for special occasions. Only one or two had ever attempted to read the *Popul Vuj*, even in Spanish translation. Because of their youth, none had been involved as an intermediary in asking for a bride, so they were unfamiliar with the poetic devices employed on that occasion. If any of them had experienced involvement in any of the traditional religious ritual, it is doubtful that they were involved sufficiently to pay attention to the ritual prayers which have very complex poetic structures. Nonetheless, they retain at a subconscious level the natural daily poetry of their language and culture.

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[1] The *Asociación de Escritores Mayances de Guatemala* (Mayan Writers' Association of Guatemala) was founded in 1974 in Quezaltenango for the purpose of promoting the development of indigenous literature in the highland Mayan languages of Guatemala, Central America. Members of the Asociación are all native speakers of a Mayan language. The Asociación has sponsored three major writers' workshops on general writing skills and several specialized workshops.

[2] The *Popul Vuj* (also called *Pop Wuj*) is the Mayan "bible" which was hidden in the walls of St. Thomas Church, Chichicastenango, Guatemala, in the sixteenth century to keep it from being destroyed by the Spanish. It was found in the late nineteenth century, and the original is now in Chicago. The first translation into modern Quiché (Kiche) was done by Burgess Presbyterian missionaries in the 1940's. The *Popul Vuj* contains the creation story as well as other traditional records of the Maya Quiché (Kiche) people.

Because the workshop participants were involved in bilingual education or in preparing bilingual literature for their churches, they desired to develop their written skills in their mother tongues. All of them had attended other writer's workshops, but they wanted to learn to write poetry. Some already had attempted to write Mayan poetry utilizing the conventions of rhyme and meter from Spanish poetry. Often they would write first in Spanish, then translate. In most cases these attempts were less than satisfying. The complexities of translating from Spanish into a Mayan language are sufficiently challenging without beginning to consider poetic structures.

In 1981, the executive committee of the *Asociación de Escritores Mayances de Guatemala* approached me requesting a workshop on poetry. I had already been involved in several workshops with this group and was reluctant to undertake one on poetry, since I personally do not write poetry except in very emotionally charged situations. Knowing that little study had been done on the discourse structures of Mayan poetry, I was uncertain how to approach the task. Although Luis Sam, a Quiché, had published some poetry, his work was primarily in Spanish and would not have demonstrated the flavor which I knew to be Mayan poetry from reading the *Popul Vuj* and the few available poetry studies. Therefore, I would have to attempt to develop something practical by extrapolating from studies done in similar genre.

3. The workshops

Each of the three workshops which developed from the original request was structured to provide ample writing time after each of the teaching sessions. The content of the teaching sessions basically followed the ideas presented by Townsend (1980) on the kinds of parallelism in Ixil ritual rhetoric.

3.1 Session one

The first teaching session included an introduction to poetry as a genre. In this session I included an introduction to the *Popul Vuj*, telling some of the history of the book, recounting some of the contents, and reading selected passages which would illustrate poetic structures. This introduction to the *Popul Vuj* also included a short history lesson on early Mayans in order to give the participants an idea of how they fit into the whole story. A few comments on the similarities between Mayan ritual rhetoric and Hebrew poetry as reported by various linguists and anthropologists (Norman 1980) were included at this point. This was primarily to set the stage for using quotations from the biblical book of Psalms as illustrations for the teaching sessions.

3.2 Session two

The second teaching session introduced the concept of semantic couplets as parallel structures. Using illustrations from Ixil and the Psalms, I attempted to illustrate that the rhythm of Mayan poetry was developed by a series of progressive complementary repetitions in contrast to the metric counting system of Spanish poetry. One can hear this repetitive pattern in the drum beats and the *chirimia* flute of the religious processions in Mayan villages. The concept of progressive complementary repetitions was developed using the visual illustration of a spiral. The spiral represented thoughts woven around a central theme. The image of concentric waves superimposed one on another developing a progressively clearer picture provided another visual representation of the concept.

Nonfigurative parallelisms were introduced using some of Townsend's Ixil illustrations (1980:52).

(a.) Specific-specific: both items are from the same lexical set and bear the same lexical component

Couplet	Lexical set	Generic component
(1) oh my mother	female	parent
oh my father	male	parent
(2) come by and shine	direct light	light diffusion
come by and glow	indirect light	light diffusion

(b.) Inclusive-included: one item differs in that it has a more restricted component of meaning

Couplet	Component of meaning
(1) lord of the year	inclusive
lord of the week	included
(2) now is the day	inclusive
now is the hour	included

This concept of a lexical set was difficult for the participants to grasp, thereby making it difficult to go into much depth with the concept. I think that they were already beginning to confront the limitations of their mother tongue knowledge.

Following the teaching session, the participants were assigned a writing experience. This experience was to give them practice in searching for semantic parallelisms in their own languages. They were given a list of words in Spanish, such as, tree, mother, father, family, peace, and rain. Instructions were to first translate each word, and then to think of a parallel term such that the relationship between the original term and the new one was either specific-specific or inclusive-included. The language dominance difficulties which had begun to surface during the teaching session were more obvious in the writing time. I think it was very difficult for most of the participants, because it involved a kind of creative thinking which few of them had ever experienced in any language.

3.3 Session three

The next teaching session focused on developing the concept of figurative or symbolic parallelism. In this type of couplet there is a symbolic relationship not only between the lines but also between each line and an unspecified referent. Both metonymy and synecdoche were introduced in this session. Townsend's illustrations (1980:53–54) were very useful in demonstrating this type of couplet.

a.) Metonymy: using the name of an attribute of an item to refer to the item itself

would that there were only one chair	ritual offerings
would that there were only one plate	ritual offerings

b.) Synecdoche: a part-whole relationship

we will see his mouth	a person
we will see his face	a person

Another writing assignment followed the teaching session. This time the participants were to select from several suggested topics and employ metonymy or synecdoche either in expressing their feelings about the topic or in describing it. The possible topics included the village saint's day, adoration of God, peace, political violence, a local problem, or a recent personal or local event which was cause for elation, such as, a wedding. It was very difficult for the participants to develop images with culturally relevant symbolic meanings. Predictably, those who were working on emotionally charged themes generally found the assignment easier than those attempting to develop images in terms of experiences not so closely tied to the culture.

3.4 Session four

The next teaching session introduced metaphor. In a metaphor the primary point of the analogy must be shared by both lines such that each line expresses a different secondary associative relationship to the referent. Townsend's illustrations (1980:4) were invaluable in presenting this concept since what might be metaphorical in one culture might not be so in another. The best example of metaphor was found in the petition for a bride in Ixil.

Cradle of life,
  our message should wake his mouth of that;
  our message should wake his face of that;
    lord of the land,
    lord of the dust.
So that one quetzal bird,
  that one flower;
    she has just come away over the fence;
    she has just come away over the yard.
As for her, her borrowed days haven't run out;
  her borrowed light hasn't run out, for her;
    says my lady,
      my lord.

Following the teaching session on metaphor, the participants were asked to pretend that they were the marriage intermediaries in their home communities and had been asked to intercede with a mother and father who had a marriageable daughter. Since none of them had actually experienced this role, it served as a valuable exercise in applying all the previous teaching sessions. Before writing, the teams role-played the scene trying to place themselves in the characters. This role-playing activity proved to be one of the keys to their being able to verbalize what might be said in verse. I had seen this same phenomenon in previous writers' workshops. Role-playing prior to writing freed the thinking from customary patterns seen in Spanish books, thereby, enabling conceptualization of new forms. As a result, the deep structure poetic forms, which were previously lost to the conscious verbalization due to the superimposition of Spanish, began to surface.

3.5 Other sessions

In the first workshop I included two additional teaching sessions: one on juxtaposition and the second on antithesis. I felt these topics would help the potential poets organize their ideas. Although this type of structure has not been specifically identified in Mayan discourse studies, its appearance in Hebrew poetry and in some

Mayan conversational structures led me to think that it could conceivably be lurking in some as yet unanalyzed discourse awaiting description. Experience showed, however, that although these topics were important, the conceptual load was already difficult for the participants to assimilate. Keeping these two sessions would have been cause for further floundering. They needed time to incorporate the other basic concepts into their thinking and writing.

4. Results

How many poets can I point to from the three workshops? One or two perhaps. A few of the participants seemed to grasp the ideas almost as if they had been waiting just below the mind's surface for someone to provide a structure in which they could fit. The workshop freed them to use what they intuitively knew. One such participant was Santiago Yac Sam, a Quiché. Santiago previously had very little formal Spanish education, so he did not have the heavy overlay of a second language blocking his use of his natural poetic structures. He wrote:

It is he who made the sky,
earth,
and all things that can be seen
and that cannot be seen.
He has control of all things;
He is worthy of being given praise.[3]

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[3] The Quiché original as written by Santiago Yac Sam in the official orthography published by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional*, Guatemala:

Are banowec caj,
ulew,
y conojel ri jastak ri quebiltajic,
y ri man quebiltaj taj
Pa u k'ab c'ut c'o wi conojel ri jastak
takal che cayi u k'ij
—Santiago Yac Sam, 1981

In contrast, Santiago Colop, who died tragically just a week after the first workshop, seemed to have the beginnings of a Mayan poetic mind even though he had had extensive Spanish education. He wrote:

> Many speak of good;
>
> Everyone speaks of peace ....
>
> The lord has shown how to do good;
>
> His words demonstrate love.[4]

5. Conclusion

What can be said about this experiment which might guide future efforts? Firstly, there is some innate sense of the poetic in each person. This sense is often buried through years of disuse. In the case of the highland Maya, the disuse was not confined to not writing poetry. It has been the disuse of the deep structures of their heart language in having to struggle with the surface structures of an acquired language, Spanish. The deep structures which can potentially give rise to poetry have had to be resurrected through formal study in those Mayans who are Spanish-dominant.

Secondly, in training writers, whether poets or others, one must not expect that a short course will suffice. There is a definite need for follow-up workshops for those who are continuing to develop their writing skills. There is also a need for interaction among those who are writing so that they do not feel isolated. Community support—in this case the community of writers—is an important felt need among Mayans. The person working alongside in a support role must be willing to continue in his supportive role long after the workshops are over. In Guatemala, I have not seen any published poetry by participants in the workshops. It is possible that some teachers have written for their classes. Their verse is not likely to

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[4] *E q'ui cäquitzijoj ri utzil,*

Conojel cäquibij ri jamaril ....

Ri kajaw xuc'utu caban ri utzil,

Ri uch'abal cuc'ut chawach ri lok'ok'enic.

—Santiago Colop

reach publication unless someone encourages them to continue and to share beyond the classroom. It may be that others have made some independent steps. But I have yet to see a bright star on the horizon of Mayan poetry. It is also quite possible that some, having glimpsed the discipline necessary to write, have been either unwilling or unable to make the necessary first tentative steps beyond the workshops.

Thirdly, one must not expect to find a poet in every aspiring writer. For many of those who participated in the workshops the overlay of Spanish is such that it is no longer possible for them to resurrect the deep structures. Whether they will ever attempt to write poetry in Spanish remains to be seen. They will not be able to do so in their mother tongue; it is now too far removed from their communication ability.

Finally, it is incumbent on the linguist, perhaps especially the sociolinguist, to discover the poetic structures in the lives of the people if he desires to make a practical impact on the literature of that people. The deep structures of the language are not limited to the language. There are parallel structures in the culture of each people. Unless these deep poetic structures in the language and culture of the highland Mayan people of Guatemala are encouraged to flower, the people will be impoverished.

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Announcement

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Grassroots Curriculum Development for Elementary School

Daniel and Wei Lei Jesudason

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The trial elementary grade one curriculum development course was designed to train the present prep teachers from the nine Daga language prep schools to develop a relevant and integrated curriculum for elementary grade one using cultural activities. The participants were expected to use the thematic approach to develop curriculum for Reading, Writing, Expressive Arts, Spiritual Relationships, Life Needs, Our Living World, Math, and Human Relationships. The activities the participants devise for each theme need to be cultural. In addition, the program needs to reach attainment targets set by the National Department of Education (NDOE) for elementary grade one.

Developing a curriculum

The forty-one participants met at the new Agaun Literacy Centre established at Gaunani village in Rabaraba District, Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea (PNG). This center had two characteristics which helped the work: solar powered lights and good wide tables. We had the privilege of having Mrs. Ruth Ray from the PNG Curriculum Department attend this workshop to give us ideas and to observe how this method of curriculum development worked at the grassroots level. She used many of the ideas and observations from this course to develop a trainer's manual that will be used for training trainers throughout PNG.

Shell big books formed the backbone of the work. These Papua New Guinean stories were developed by education officers during a curriculum workshop at Ukarumpa in October 1993. The Daga prep schools will help to evaluate the quality of the stories as they use these books. The books were printed with a grant from the NDOE and were supplied free to the nine prep schools. The supervisor of the Umanakaina program, representing about seven prep schools, was also present because he wanted to be trained in elementary grade one curriculum design procedures.

The course was started with an introduction of the importance of the education process involving planning, implementation, and evaluation. Examples of traditional activities involving these three components were given before the FIVE STEPS OF CURRICULUM DESIGN were introduced. Another short lecture was on the concept of relevant and integrated education. This theme was repeated again and again as the participants worked through the curriculum development process.

Five steps of curriculum design

1. Story development

Write a culturally relevant story using the pictures in the book. Your story must follow the pictures. Make your story interesting and use cultural events, places, and names to write your story. The text for each picture must not be too long. It must fit into one page easily.

2. Theme web

From the story that you write, decide on a topic (or theme) which will allow you to teach the other subjects on the theme web. This will be the same topic for teaching all the subjects. Write the topic in the center of the theme web. Your topic must not be too general or too narrow. The village calendar might help you choose a topic which will be relevant for that particular season in your village area.[1]

3. Select attainment targets

Using the theme as a guide, look through the list of attainment targets provided by NDOE and select attainment targets for each subject according to the level of the class. Write the attainment target for each subject on the theme web. Select only one attainment target for each subject.

4. Design learning activities

Think of cultural activities for each attainment target which will allow you to reach that target for that subject. Make your activities interesting and relevant for the children and involve cultural events, places, and objects from the local environment to teach the children.

5. Evaluation

Using the evaluation form provided (See Figure 1), evaluate your theme web and improve it according to the result of the score. If it is not a very cultural theme web, then choose another theme and repeat steps two to five.

Applying these steps

The participants worked on the story "Give Me Your Legs," which was about a water eel that wanted to leave its life in the water. The eel was eventually eaten by a cat. The participants were allowed to develop their own version of the story following the pictures in the blank shell book. They worked as separate prep schools and came up with a variety of stories.

The theme webs were developed as the class discussed various themes that could be used from their story to bridge into the other subjects on the theme web. A discussion of the village calendar and how it helps in choosing a theme for a particular period of the year helped to guide the participants.

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[1] For an example of a theme web and further discussion, see Pat Spaulding's article in READ 29(1): 25–29 (April 1994). —ED.

Each prep school was given a list of attainment targets provided by NDOE. These included targets for three levels: prep, elementary one, and elementary two. Choosing attainment targets seemed to be very difficult. This is because there are many difficult English words in these targets. However, nearly all the prep schools or clusters of prep schools had one grade ten or grade eight leaver. That helped them to work together to select attainment targets relevant to the theme for each subject. The practice done on the classroom blackboard as a large group was very helpful. Each prep school had to select attainment targets for the various subjects. Their choices were evaluated by the rest of the class.

The fourth step was for the participants to come up with cultural ways to help the children attain the targets listed for each subject. Each prep school had to discuss each learning activity for each target for a particular subject and list their suggestions. The chalkboard was soon covered with a variety of ideas as we discussed the activities together. These activities need to involve as many of the five senses as possible. Children should develop their thinking throughout the learning activities. A good recommendation by Ruth Ray from NDOE was to consider the steps: **talk, do, talk, record** for each learning activity. In this process, the class is prepared for the activity by discussing what will be done. After the activity, the group discusses what was accomplished. This needs to be written either on the chalkboard or in a book for future reference.

Evaluation and future plans

In the evaluation of the materials that had been developed, participants were taught to use simple forms (see Figures 1 and 2). The final score helped them to make decisions regarding improving the theme webs and shell books. The evaluations of the shell books will be used by SIL and NDOE to design books that are adaptable to many areas.

Ruth Ray's ideas on teaching the subjects by integrating the various activities were discussed. An example of this integration would be a trip to a garden. The children could learn about various types of soils for their Living World study. A study of Art would include modeling and fashioning digging sticks. An experience story could be written when the class returns to the room. This could be used for language lessons.

Ruth Ray encouraged the participants to work together after the workshop. The participants working in clusters of two or three prep schools will write more big books. These will be done in the villages so that many people can give ideas for interesting cultural stories and cultural learning activities. The supervisors will check these for accuracy before they are written in ink.

An inservice workshop is planned for the first term break to complete the big books and theme webs for term two. During the midyear break, it is expected that books will be prepared for terms three and four.

Adult literacy activities

The Daga language adult literacy teachers course was run concurrently with the elementary curriculum development workshop. The aim of the adult course was to train the teachers to teach adult students using Daga Reading Books 1 and 2. These two books had lessons which included a story as well as syllable lessons to guide the student to learn reading and writing gradually. Reading Book 2 included more workbook exercises and writing practice using words found in the main story text.

On the last day of the workshop, all prep school teachers were taught the strategy to teach adults and were introduced to the adult reading books. The adult literacy teachers gave a step-by-step demonstration which was then discussed. The adult teaching method is similar to the prep school teaching method. Both use story text followed by teaching the sounds found in the text using a syllable chart. For this reason, prep school teachers would have no problem helping the adult literacy teachers in their villages. Therefore, all prep school teachers are certified to teach adults. The adult literacy classes will be held only once a week, probably on the weekend, using the prep school classroom and facilities.

Figure 1. Evaluation of theme web

Name of shell book ____________________

Theme ____________________

Teacher's name ____________________

	Circle correct answer			
	A	B	C	D
1. Is the topic in line with the Big Book story?	Yes	Not directly	Not sure	No
2. Are all the learning activities under each subject (math, arts, etc.) relevant to the children?	Yes all of them are relevant and cultural	Most of the subjects have cultural activities	Few of the subjects have cultural, relevant activities	None of the activities listed are cultural
3. Do the activities fit with the cultural calendar of the area?	Yes, all the activities fit the calendar	Most of the activities fit the cultural calendar	Only some of the activities fit the calendar	None of the activities fit the calendar
4. Are the materials needed for the activities easily available in the area?	Yes, all the materials are easily available	Most of the materials can be obtained easily	Only some materials can be obtained	None of the materials can be found in the area
Total number selected in each column (A,B,C,D)				
Multiply each column by	x 4 =	x 3 =	x 2 =	x 1 =
Total of A + B + C + D				

Total 12–16 This theme web is done well and is culturally relevant.

Total 8–11 This is a good theme web, but it can be improved.

Total 4–7 You need to make another theme web with a different theme.

Figure 2. Evaluation of a shell book

Name of shell book ____________________

Teacher ______________________________

	Circle correct answer			
	A	B	C	D
Are objects in the story familiar to children?	All of them	Most of them	Some of them	None of them
Are the children able to recognize and identify the pictures in the story?	Most of them can identify all the pictures	Some of them can identify all the pictures	Can identify after some explanation	Cannot identify even with help
Is the story too complicated (too many subjects and changes in location)?	Not complicated	Some parts are difficult	Most of the story is hard to follow	The story is too complicated
Are some of the events or actions in the story different from the culture of the children?	All of them are cultural	Some of them are not cultural	Most of them are not cultural	The story is not relevant to the children
Total number selected in each column (A,B,C,D)				
Multiply each column by	x 4 =	x 3 =	x 2 =	x 1 =
Total of A + B + C + D				

If the total is between 12 to 16, this is a very good shell book for your culture and children.

If the total is between 8 to 11, this book can be used but needs explanation from the teacher.

If the total is between 4 to 7, then this is not a good book for your children.

Reviews

Wlodkowski, Raymond J. 1993. Enhancing adult motivation to learn. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers. 314 pages. Paperback $19.95.

Reviewed by James Baartse

Wlodkowski's book is a very helpful resource book for anyone involved in the instruction of adults, regardless of the subject matter being taught. Numerous examples are given as Wlodkowski describes sixty-eight strategies for enhancing the motivation of adults in a wide variety of learning situations. Although Wlodkowski, who is an associate professor of educational psychology, draws insights from a myriad of motivational and learning theories, he refrains from tiring the reader with too much jargon (or psychobabble as he calls it). The result is a highly informative, easy reading resource book.

The book follows a highly structured pattern. The first chapter provides a useful introduction to the idea of motivation from both the point of view of the instructor as well as the adult learner. It discusses several theories about motivation, explains why it is so important to the teaching of adults, and outlines some critical assumptions on which the rest of the book is based. After this introduction, the second chapter portrays the motivating instructor as an enthusiastic and empathic expert in his or her field. The third chapter is really the core of the book, which is expanded upon in the remaining seven chapters. Attitudes, needs, stimulation, affect, competence, and reinforcements are introduced and briefly explained as the six major factors influencing adult motivation. Each of these factors are discussed respectively in the next five chapters (competence and reinforcement are lumped together in chapter eight) with specific strategies and examples given. The key to integrating all these ideas and strategies is Wlodkowski's Time Continuum Model of Motivation and its relation to these six factors. This model is introduced at the end of chapter three and its implementation detailed in the last two chapters of the book. The basic idea is that each of these factors have a higher relative importance during particular phases of the learning process. At the beginning of the process, the learner's attitude to the instructor, the subject matter and her own abilities, as well as her own needs, play a more significant role than the other factors. Consequently motivational planning should implement strategies that address these factors. In the subsequent phase, which Wlodkowski simply calls the "during" phase (which makes up the bulk of the learning cycle in most situations), the instructor should select strategies geared to providing appropriate levels of stimulation and to providing an environment which fully and positively engages the learner's emotions as well as cognitive skills. Finally, the competence of the learner and reinforcement of the competence are significant in the ending state of the learning process.

In the chapters describing each of the six motivational factors, the reader will not find any profound or new ideas. The reader will probably be able to think back to his own educational experiences and be reminded of instructors who implemented many of the same ideas. The strength of these chapters lies in the fact that so many of these ideas are brought together in one place and listed one after another with examples. The strategies employed deal with many different areas of instructing; from how to enhance learner reactions to response opportunities; to personal presentation styles; to guidelines in providing constructive criticism. In the final chapters on constructing a motivational plan, the various strategies move beyond being simply a collection of ideas to being a checklist and a resource for approaching the task of enhancing the motivation of adults in an organized and formal fashion. This is one of Wlodkowski's self-stated goals: to help instructors move beyond guessing, common sense, intuition, and trial and error in their attempts to motivate adults, and to adapt a more structured approach. For the instructor who has trouble planning or organizing, the checklists, questions, examples, and step-by-step approach outlined in the last two chapters will be a great benefit.

The logical approach of the book that breaks everything down into a certain number of factors or steps also leads to a bit of redundancy. As the author admits, all these factors and steps are dynamic and interrelated and so it seems that the same ideas are often mentioned in different places. For instance the idea of challenging the learner is mentioned in both the chapters about responding to a learner's needs and about making learning stimulating. Using examples and relating stories that the learner can relate to his own daily life is an idea explained in three different chapters. Admittedly there are nuances of difference in that one chapter talks about using stories related to the learner's needs, another discusses using them to relate to learner's interests, and a third relates to their values. In the end, however, it is a bit repetitive.

Although the book does not go into any great detail about any one particular theory of learning or motivation, the author has obviously drawn from many sources, and he readily provides information (if not detailed) on what theory or from what study he is presenting material. This is useful in helping to weight the value of some of his ideas. Overall, readers who subscribe to the idea of holistic learning will find his book promising since he places significant emphasis on learner directed learning, self-actualization, and group cohesion. He also writes (with reference to M. L. Maehr) that "to foster the continued willingness of people to learn may be of greater consequence than to ensure the fact that they have learned some specific thing at a certain point in time" (p. 281). Of course, for those not subscribing to such ideas, this will definitely be one of the book's major weaknesses.

As final comment, especially since many readers of this review are involved in instructing adults in a cross-cultural situation, it is important to realize the very "European" and "American" flavor of the book. The strategies are distinctly American. When Wlodkowski advocates ideas like dramatic body movements, or good grades and individual academic awards, the reader should not assume that all such strategies will work well in cross-cultural situations. The book is very much a product of American culture and values. This is not meant to detract from the value of the book. It is recommended reading for anyone involved in teaching. Besides being a great resource book, it provides plenty of secondary information which is invaluable, such as, what topics generally interest different age groups and the differences between young and old learners (to mention just two). The book provides an orderly approach for the reader to analyze his or her current learning situation as well as ways to improve it. Since nobody is able to juggle or remember all the factors, strategies and methods, the structured approach in this book provides a way for a teacher to improve and thereby benefit self and students.

Freire, Paulo. 1989. Education for critical consciousness. New York: Continuum Publishing Company. pp. xiv, 164. Paperback $9.95.

Reviewed by Dan Freisen

This book is a translation of two essays by the exiled Brazilian, Paulo Freire. The essays are quite hard to read, possibly because they are translated, but also because of their highly philosophical content. While Freire does mix in practical examples and applications, this book still contains much philosophical theorizing.

The two essays in the book are based on Freire's experience in working with oppressed groups, specifically in literacy and agricultural extension. I think, however, that the observations Freire makes concerning oppressed groups can be seen in many different situations.

In his first essay, "Education As the Practice of Freedom," Freire presents his philosophy of *conscientizacao*. This is the process of bringing someone to an awareness of his ability to change his world.

The first chapter, "Society in Transition," introduces several polarizing terms of good and bad to explain Freire's guiding philosophy. INTEGRATION is the ability to "adapt oneself to reality plus the critical capacity to make choices and to transform that reality" (p. 4). Meanwhile, ADAPTATION is letting someone else make choices for you. An integrated person is a SUBJECT, while a person who adapts is an OBJECT, too weak to make his own decisions. Freire's desire is to see people participate fully in history and culture, i.e., having a say over their destiny.

Later in chapter one, Freire introduces the terms RADICAL and SECTARIAN. A radical person is "critical, loving, humble and communicative, and therefore a positive stance" (p. 10), whereas a sectarian is "arrogant, antidialogical and thus anticommunicative" (p.11). Freire sees political rightists as born sectarians, although he says leftists can also develop into sectarians.

As people begin to affect their surroundings, they become TRANSITIVE. NATIVE TRANSITIVITY oversimplifies problems, exists in the past, and can result in a move from sectarian to fanatical, which is bad. CRITICAL TRANSITIVITY looks deeper for answers, deals with causes, and is open to revisions. In short, it is the ideal way to solve a problem.

In the second chapter, "Closed Society and Democratic Inexperience," Freire begins to put flesh onto his ideas by analyzing the history of Brazil before the 1964 coup. He shows how common people began to take control of their history, and how Brazil began to carve out an identity separate from Portugal and the elite upper class.

The third chapter is entitled, "Education versus Massification." Here he further explains how, in order for true democracy and *conscientizacao* to happen, Brazilians had to be educated on how to think critically. He contrasts this education in critical thinking with massification, which he presents as brainwashing the masses through propaganda.

In the first essay's fourth and final chapter, "Education and *Conscientizacao*," Freire starts to explain with concrete examples how true education should take place. He sees literacy as a key means of helping the oppressed begin to take control of their lives. He does not teach someone how to read and write as much as he helps facilitate their understanding of how they can impact the world around them and how literacy can help them in this. The chapter proceeds to explain in detail how a teacher should facilitate *conscientizacao* and literacy together in a culture circle (versus a 'class'). Literacy teaching happens with the help of generative words. These are culturally appropriate emotional words that contain the basic syllables in the language. The generative words are broken down into syllables that are used to make up more words. However, they also help initiate discussion that promotes critical thinking about their culture.

The appendix presents ten situations that are discussed in a culture circle. These situations are all different ways that man interacts with culture. The appendix closes with a summary of the steps in Freire's teaching method and a sample list of generative words.

The second of the two essays in this book is entitled, "Extension or Communication." While the first essay deals with Freire's rationale behind literacy, this essay looks at his philosophy underlying agricultural extension.

The first section of chapter one has a semantic analysis for the term EXTENSION. In it Freire does just that, a word study on extension. He concludes that extension is bad because it is propaganda, treats the peasants as subjects, and does not deal with communication, which is good.

The second half of chapter one is entitled, "Extension and Its Gnosiological Misinterpretation." As the title suggests, this chapter is couched in philosophical terms and arguments. Freire is arguing that extension cannot pass on knowledge since it does not enter into dialogue. True knowledge comes from communicating with people and promoting *conscientizacao*, in other words, showing people how to become subjects acting on their world.

The topic of the first section of chapter two is "Extension and Cultural Invasion—A Necessary Criticism." Here Freire again draws together mere arguments to support the necessity of dialogue. A good portion of this chapter refutes arguments from extension agents who reject dialogue with peasants (p. 117). Freire addresses these concerns and reveals his undying commitment to developing an independent minded person. He values this over imposing a new set of knowledge on people because of the need for results (e.g., increase in agricultural production). He argues that dialogue is not a waste of time and that nothing is too technical to be explained to someone who will be using the new knowledge.

The second half of chapter two deals with "Agrarian Reform, Cultural Transformation, and the Role of the Agronomist-educator." In this section, Freire explains that neutral education cannot happen. When a change agent brings in new information (such as agrarian reform) to address a certain problem, the whole culture will be affected. Freire realizes this and argues that the change agent should therefore enter the culture with a plan for cultural change and participate in this change instead of imposing change.

The first half of chapter three answers the question, "Extension or Communication?" Freire deals with the interactions that do and do not occur with these two terms. He sees thought as a transitive verb where someone thinks about something with someone else. Communication is presented as part of thinking, while extension occurs when a piece of information is merely "extended" with no communication (therefore no thought) taking place. Freire closed the chapter with the following answer: extension is bad and communication is good.

The remainder of chapter three is entitled, "Education As a Gnosiological State." Freire begins the chapter by showing that people impact the world and the world impacts people. He feels that education should help people see this truth. He argues that the educator and educatee (the one being educated) should discover knowledge together, and that even the curriculum should be selected by discussing the needs felt by the student. Freire summarizes the chapter and the essay by saying that true education is "the practice of freedom" (p. 164).

As noted in the introduction, this work was translated from the original Portuguese essays that Freire wrote in 1969. Because of this and the philosophical content of the material, the book is heavy reading, especially the last chapter of the first essay (pp. 41–58) and the last part of the appendix (pp. 82–84). The remainder of the first essay deals more with a philosophy of teaching.

Freire has some good insights on the need to meet people where they are and to work with people instead of imposing information on them. As he states, "while all development is modernization, not all modernization is development" (page 130). He is also frank about the impact that new information has on culture and the need to have a plan on how the culture should be changed. While many of his observations are good, some of his practices and resulting philosophy are subject to question. Having little experience in philosophy and logic, I felt ill-equipped to comment further on the ramifications of his thoughts. I did, however, enjoy his challenge to relate to uneducated peasants on a more equal plane, and to participate in the changing of their culture, instead of just imposing unexplained information on them.

Trudell, Barbara. 1993. Beyond the bilingual classroom: Literacy acquisition among Peruvian Amazon communities. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Pp. 162. Paper $18.00.

Reviewed by W. John Wagner

For effective literacy instruction, there must obviously be a teacher, a student, and instructional materials. Successful acquisition of literacy, however, is affected by more than these factors. In *Beyond the Bilingual Classroom*, Barbara Trudell presents a study of the factors affecting the acquisition of literacy among ten ethnolinguistic groups of the Peruvian Amazon. Her research focused on three areas: study of available literature, interviews of field workers familiar with these groups, and on-site interviews of group members.

The purpose of the book is to "examine historical, ethnic identity-related, and educational program-related factors which have affected literacy acquisition in the mother tongue and in Spanish" (Trudell 1993:5). The book is divided into two parts. Part I gives background information necessary for an understanding of the study. Part II profiles each of the groups, examining their historical, ethnic, and educational factors and then drawing conclusions regarding the impact of those factors on literacy acquisition.

Part I consists of five chapters. In chapter one, Trudell introduces the topic and sets the stage for the rest of the study. She first gives some general background on the region and the bilingual education program there. Next, she describes the purpose of the study (see above), gives an overview for the remainder of the book, and defines a few key terms. She concludes with a brief discussion of the study's significance.

In chapter two, Trudell traces the history of the peoples of the Peruvian Amazon jungle, beginning with the period before colonial contact in the sixteenth century, and continuing through the turmoil of the next 300 years and the commercialization and exploitation in the nineteenth century. Looking at the twentieth century, Trudell presents the history of Peru's bilingual education program. This was begun in 1952 by the Peruvian Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).

In chapter three, "Language, Culture, and Ethnicity," Trudell lays further groundwork for the study and analysis that will follow. She presents the three basic sociolinguistic theories that she will use to evaluate these ten groups. The three theories are "Ross' (1979) model of language and ethnicity, Kelman's (1971) theory of instrumental and sentimental attachment to a social system, and Lewis' (1982) categories of factors which have consequences for social and linguistic change."

Understanding these three theories is crucial for understanding Trudell's analysis. Ross' theory defines the four stages through which a society passes beginning with a primitive, isolated society and moving to a nationality with political autonomy. In each stage, the language choices made are valuable indicators of the collective group identity. Kelman's theory gives us the terms "instrumental" and "sentimental" which Trudell relates to the "motivation of a people to either assimilate to a second language and culture or to separate themselves" from it. Instrumental attachment refers to the extent to which a language and culture meet the practical needs of the individual. Sentimental attachment refers to the extent to which language and culture are a reflection of who the individual is. Lewis' theory considers four factors that can bring about linguistic change: attitudes toward the languages, relationships between speakers of different languages, extent of modernization, and political, religious, and cultural characteristics. These three models form the basis for much of the analysis in Part II.

Next, in chapter four, Trudell discusses the relationship between literacy and education. That is, what educational methods are used for literacy instruction? For the vernacular languages in the Peruvian Amazon, the approach has been two-fold: the bilingual education system begun in 1952 and the small-scale, informal literacy classes for adults. Trudell asserts that the term "bilingual education" is not a single, simply defined unit. Rather, it encompasses a variety of approaches, depending on the relative importance of the languages involved. In Peru, the preferred mode has been maintenance. In this approach, both the vernacular language and Spanish are used extensively for instruction.

Chapter five, the final chapter of Part I, describes Trudell's research methodology which focused on qualitative not quantitative data. The primary research tools were "interviews with a number of field linguists and educators of SIL in Peru; and study of documents concerning the history and social present of the various social groups" (Trudell 1993:55). In addition, Trudell used the results of a 1990 survey of Indian villages which assessed the attitudes of the people to the bilingual education program. This survey data was available for only four of the ten ethnolinguistic groups of this study, but it was applied where available.

Turning to Part II, Trudell applies the factors discussed in chapters two, three, and four to each of the language groups. Of the ten groups, seven are examined in individual chapters, and the remaining three groups, because of widespread commonality, are examined together. Each chapter first presents the historical framework unique to the particular ethnolinguistic group. In most cases, it is simply the local specifics of the national events outlined in the historical overview (chapter two).

Next, the models of Ross, Kelman, and Lewis are applied to evaluate the group's levels of ethnic identity and language maintenance. Then the group's interaction with the Peruvian educational system is detailed and the following questions are answered. When did schools begin? How have the people been involved? What effect has the education had? Finally, each of these chapters concludes with a summary of the most notable factors for bilingual education. Specifically, Trudell draws attention to those factors which appear to strongly favor or hinder literacy, both for the vernacular and for Spanish. In these summaries, all areas of her research (historical, social, and educational) are drawn together to consider their effects on the acquisition of literacy.

In the final chapter of the book, Trudell merges the results from all of these ethnolinguistic groups to "discover general patterns of literacy acquisition" (Trudell 1993:141). Based on her group-by-group analysis, she lists factors in four categories: positive or negative effect on vernacular literacy acquisition (VLA), and positive or negative effect on Spanish literacy acquisition (SLA). She then cross-categorizes these factors into +VLA +SLA, +VLA –SLA, –VLA +SLA, and –VLA –SLA. Trudell goes on to discuss several significant implications that are an outgrowth of this analysis. These implications are in the areas of contact and bilingualism, economic development, assimilation versus maintenance of traditional culture, implications for educational programs, and implications for change agents (such as SIL).

Beyond the Bilingual Classroom relates the "cultural history and vitality" of these ten Peruvian groups to their "educational history and present literacy development" (Trudell 1993:9). In Trudell's own words, it attempts to determine what are the "historical, social, and educational factors which may be useful in explaining or even predicting the likelihood of acquisition of vernacular literacy by minority language groups" (Trudell 1993:9). In my opinion it succeeds quite well. Trudell's research methodology is logical and thorough, her analysis consistent and insightful, and her writing clear and understandable.

Trudell suggests using this study to predict the success of other literacy programs, but she is careful to caution against automatically applying her conclusions to other ethnolinguistic groups around the world. Although I understand the necessity of this caution, it appears to me that the principles she applies (and, therefore, the conclusions she draws from them) may well be universally applicable. It would be worthwhile for anyone undertaking a literacy or bilingual education program in any culture to consider her conclusions. The categorization of the various historical, ethnic identity, and educational program factors by their positive or negative effect on vernacular and Spanish (language of wider communication) literacy acquisition is perhaps the most significant contribution of this study. I would suggest that using these categories to provide initial predictions of literacy acquisition could be profitable in any situation.

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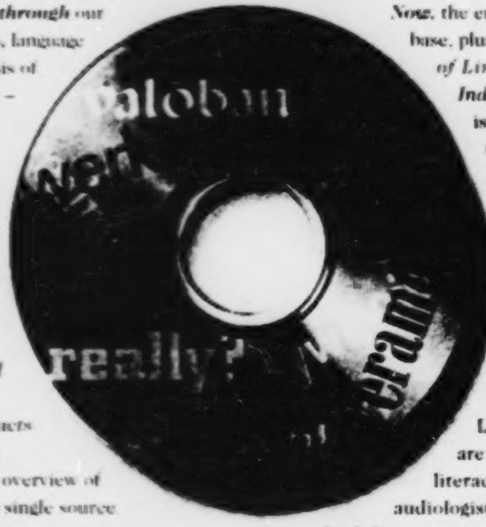

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Management of a Community Literacy and Development Program

Establishing a Self-managing and Self-sufficient Ethnic Program

Uwe Gustafsson

In 1955, Uwe Gustafsson received a diploma as a horticulturist in the former East Germany after which he worked in the horticultural field for seven years. He then attended a Bible school in Switzerland from 1962 to 1964, graduating with a diploma. He was accepted as a member of SIL in 1965. From 1965 to 1966 he attended SIL at the University of North Dakota. He became a citizen of Canada in 1966. Uwe and his wife, Elke, began their work in India among the Adivasi Oriya speaking people in October 1970 and have been working on a literacy and development program there since.[1]

1. Introduction

The goals of a community literacy and development program (CLDP) are: (1) a literate majority of men and women within the ethnic community, and (2) literates using their skills for an improved personal, family, and community life. To accomplish this the program needs capable administration. The national or expatriate literacy team will be the chief management team while at the same time establishing and coordinating an ethnic management team[2]. It is essential for the national or expatriate team (NET) to involve ethnic personnel in all management activities of the program from the beginning in areas such as planning, writing of books, selection of literacy classes, training, and development programs.

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[1] For an overview of how this program was worked out with the Adivasi Oriya-speaking people of India, see the following publications by the author: "The Adiwasi Oriya-Telugu Adult Literacy and Education Programme" in *Notes on Literacy* 50:19–28, "Literacy as a Tool in Development in the Adivasi Oriya-Telugu Adult Literacy, Functional Education and Development Project, Araku Valley, India" in *A Step Towards Overcoming Developmental Barriers in Rural Communities: Literacy as a Tool*, and *Can Literacy Lead to Development* (Gustafsson 1991).

A successful CLDP calls for the entire management team to be actively involved in the literacy and development programs as supervisors, monitors, or evaluators, thus constantly interacting with the teachers, learners, and village elders, as well as all employees and workers in various development enterprises. In most situations experienced ethnic personnel will not be available, and in-service training and partial outside training will be necessary. The NET will have ethnic personnel at their side in all program activities—teaching, guiding, and encouraging them in management activities. The responsibility of the NET is therefore twofold: (1) managing the CLDP, and (2) preparing an ethnic managing team for self-management of the program. The NET must assign responsibilities to the ethnic management team in training, while at the same time assuring successful learning in the village literacy classes. At all times the focus must be kept on the illiterate and the learning adults on their way to full literacy!

Future self-management of the program by the ethnic group is essential and must be one of the goals of the CLDP from the beginning. On the subject of self-management, Agenta Lind and Anton Johnston in *Adult Literacy In The Third World, A Review Of Objectives And Strategies* quote from the International Council for Adult Education, "If literacy programs are imposed on people and are not related to the total development and/or local conditions, they have little chance of improving people's lives. They should encourage the skills of participation and self-management ... (International Council for Adult Education 1979:12)."

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[2] Editor's note: A clarification of terms is needed in this particular situation. The author makes a distinction between "national" and "ethnic" groups. For the purposes of this article, "ethnic" peoples are those of the minority language group being served by the CLDP. "Nationals" are other Indians not from the minority language group being served by the CLDP. Therefore the NET is composed of nationals and expatriates, while the ethnic management team is composed of ethnic personnel only.

Aside from self-management of the program by the ethnic group, development activities must also be part of a good community literacy program. And, to make development activities really effective, self-sufficiency should balance the scale with self-management. The program must be functional, benefiting the learning ethnic community in all ways. A recommendation following the evaluation of experimental literacy projects by the United Nations Development Programme declared:

> ... the concept of functionality must be extended to include all its dimensions: political, economic, social and cultural. Just as development is not only economic growth, so literacy—education more generally—must aim above all to arouse in the individual a critical awareness of social reality, and to enable him or her to understand, master and transform his or her destiny (UNESCO, UNDP 1976:191).

Including functionality will add a much more complex dimension to management and management training of the program. Margaret Bendor-Samuel in her article, "Branch Literacy Units" brings out an excellent strategy for establishing literacy programs with functionality.

> I believe we should take serious note of our need to show the same level of professionalism in the implementation of literacy programs as we do in our linguistic research. The strategy I am suggesting takes these two factors into consideration: greater support for the literacy worker and a more professional approach to literacy program management. It also considers the possibility of adopting a functional approach to literacy programs. (Bendor-Samuel 1990:3)

Her strategy for setting up branch literacy units will be a real boost to establishing CLDPs which in favorable conditions can become self-managing and self-sufficient.

Julia Van Dyken also expressed this need for functionality to some degree in her paper, "The Role of Literacy in Development."

> At the policy level, because they believe in autonomy of each team and trust that the workers will be sensitive to the ethnic group members among whom they work, SIL would not want a policy explicating precise ways and means for community and national development, but they should want a policy which shows concern for the well-being and participation of the community (Van Dyken 1988:20).

In preparing an ethnic group for self-management and self-sufficiency of a literacy and development program, the NET is the chief facilitating "outside" party assisting the ethnic group in achieving this goal.

This article will outline some of the management needs for a CLDP. The basis of the information will draw mainly from our experiences in India as we continue to learn to manage the Adivasi Oriya—Telugu Adult Literacy. Twelve years of literacy work have thus far been completed among this ethnic group of over 100,000 speakers, and the work of the past seven years has been concentrated on development activities with a number of income generating projects established. The project is on the way to self-management and self-sufficiency.

The term MANAGER is used to designate the position. In only a few situations will qualified ethnic (or NET, for that matter) personnel be available.

2. Management of the total program

2.1 Team effort with NET's organization and the funding agency

The NET is responsible to coordinate the entire program with its own organization and the funding agency. Although each ethnic group setting will determine the course of the community literacy program in specific ways, there are certain pressures acting upon the program from outside. The NET's organization and the funding agency will have guidelines for the program. The NET must be sensitive to these, and if feasible, incorporate into its own program whatever requirements there may be. The funding agency may very well require incorporating development activities with the goal of self-management and self-sufficiency of the program.

As the program gets underway, a team spirit between the outside agencies, the NET, and the ethnic management team should develop. But this team work is by no means an easy task since some members of the outside agencies have never worked in an ethnic group. And yet, participation in the program by "outsiders" is inevitable. The NET should include the ethnic management team in all planning and implementation of requirements from outside agencies. The ethnic managers must be aware of what their responsibilities will or might be as they work with outside agencies which have a legitimate "voice" in the program, while remaining autonomous. Along with the NET, the ethnic management team must learn to discuss these requirements and recommendations with responsible persons from outside agencies. This is very crucial, for only the NET and the ethnic group managers really know how these can be realistically incorporated into the program. Only through teamwork can maximum benefit for the illiterate ethnic population be achieved and development accomplished.

2.2 Cooperation with government agencies

All CLDPs are in essence accomplishing national and international development goals while working in cooperation with government agencies. The NET and the ethnic managers should offer their services and expertise to government agencies and assist them in specific areas of literacy and development. It is very important that the NET and the ethnic team be aware of government policies and programs in the area. If possible, they should fit into these policies and programs, and thus become part of national development. As a voluntary agency, the ethnic group will have a real contribution to make to national literacy and development efforts.

2.3 Program teamwork between NET and ethnic group managers

Management of the total program must be coordinated from the beginning by all participating management personnel. All phases of the program such as writing primers and readers, surveying for new village literacy classes, selection and training of teachers, supervision, monitoring and evaluation, along with development must be harmonized. The chief responsibility falls upon the NET, always having some members of the ethnic management team at their side.

Since most CLDPs are located in remote areas, much forethought must be given to have all materials in place ahead of time. There will be unforeseen delays which can be disastrous to the success of the program. Management must not take for granted that all materials will be available when needed or printing completed when promised. The entire program must be reviewed and discussed on a weekly basis by the NET and the ethnic management team. A general manager or coordinator will have to coordinate the entire management team and the program to maintain harmony. This person will probably have to be a member of the NET team, but two or three ethnic managers should work alongside him from the beginning. One of these can potentially become the future general manager or coordinator.

2.4 Program management personnel

The need for a general manager to coordinate the program is clear. In time the program will need to have ethnic managers for several departments. While it was practical to have these departments looked after by one and the same person in the beginning of the program, this will not be possible with expansion of the program. The NET should plan for ethnic managers for each of these departments: writing, editing and proofreading; supervision and monitoring; shopping, stocking, and distribution of supplies; and office management. Even if the manager is the only person in the department at first, it is wise to have a responsible person in charge. It may not be possible to have experienced ethnic personnel, and in such case the NET should place a person with talent in the certain area into that department. The NET will know ethnic members from the linguistic program and thus be able to select a promising individual for management position. Mistakes or wrong decisions will be made, both by the NET and the ethnic team, but only by taking risks will success be achieved.

The ethnic management team will be given responsibility very soon under the general manager. Together they will manage the program. The ethnic team must soon realize that in time they will be responsible for the management of the entire program. There is, therefore, a need by the NET to be liberal in handing out praise and awards for good accomplishments. This goes right across the board for all participants in the program, not only the management team. Very soon there should develop a real spirit of cooperation and appreciation among all program men and women in the ethnic group for literacy and development of their own people.

It must be emphasized again that all management personnel need to be personally involved with both the learners in the literacy program and the development personnel. The ethnic management and the NET will participate in the supervision in the villages and the monthly meetings at headquarters of teachers and supervisors. In order to reach maximum results in bringing illiterates to full literacy, there must be a close cooperative spirit between all participants in the program. There must be openness about all plans and the implementation of them; the ethnic team will soon participate in management suggestions which are best suitable for their people.

In traditional ethnic cultures it may be difficult to have full-time commitment by ethnic staff at first. Though eager to be punctual and steady, they may not even be aware of how their cultural commitments will interface with regular attendance to program duties. Or, if their regular program duties are interrupted, they will not find that unusual. For the management of the program (especially for the NET) this can be extremely frustrating. The NET will know about the cultural timetable, but when the literacy and development program begins, these interruptions can result in varying degrees of frustration.

The answer to this problem is to have substitutes ("fillers") who can quickly step in. It is advisable to plan ahead and not be stranded in the program, because these sudden absences are inevitable. This problem is serious enough for literacy programs; for income generating projects it can be disastrous.

In some cultures too much attention is given to "pleasing the supervisor." Not that this is wrong in itself, but it will divert attention that must be given to product quality and goal accomplishment. The NET must in this case carefully guide the ethnic management team to always see that the actual work is done, and the goal is reached. Once this has succeeded, pleasing the supervisor will not be a problem.

Another common problem is bureaucracy. For those ethnic groups which have come under government administration, individual members have observed government administrative procedures. When the CLDP has to set up its own administration, some ethnic personnel will already "know" how to do certain office procedures. And this will be very valuable. However, most of the work is out in the literacy classes and doing development activities and not in the office. We are emphasizing, therefore, participation of the management staff in the actual program.

The research done by Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman Jr. bears out the importance of management working very closely to the workers. In their book, *In Search Of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-run Companies,* they give numerous examples of top managers having a close relationship with their work force.

> In one study, eighteen out of twenty Hewlett-Packard executives interviewed spontaneously claimed that the success of their company depends on the Company's people-oriented philosophy. It's called "The HP Way." Here's how founder Bill Hewlett describes it: "I feel that in general terms it is the policies and actions that flow from the belief that men and women want to do a good job, a creative job, and that if they are provided with the proper environment they will do so. It is the tradition of treating every individual with consideration and respect and recognizing personal achievement" (Peters and Waterman 1982:243–44).

> Nothing more effectively involves people, sustains credibility or generates enthusiasm than face to face communication. It is critical to provide and discuss all organization performance figures with all of our people (Peters and Waterman 1982:248).

Ethnic groups often lack some of the background necessary for acquiring management skills. It will take time for them to learn and be confident to take on the leadership roles in literacy and development. Therefore, adequate training time should be built into the program.

In many ethnic groups the value of relationships will often overrule merit in consideration for placement and promotion in the workplace. In managing a CLDP, however, the NET must work with its most trusted ethnic coworkers to have them understand the importance of merit (if possible alongside relationship) for staff appointments.

2.5 Program administration

Each CLDP needs to have an administrative set up, the size being in relationship to the size of the program. A small beginning is very desirable. The chief language assistants will very often be able to fill the slots for the initial administrative work along with the NET. As the program grows, and especially when income generating projects are established, the administration becomes more complex. Having an administration is essential, and yet, in most cases there are no trained ethnic personnel available.

Our language assistant typist (trained by my wife) had worked with us for five years before the literacy program began. With the beginning of the literacy program he, along with the others, became involved in supervision. He displayed exceptional honesty as well as talent for record-keeping, by designing new record-keeping systems, and a knack for general administrative work. And he enjoyed his work. Today he is the president of the registered ethnic society (the legal body of this literacy and development project) and its chief administrative officer. Another member of the original group of language assistants became an excellent supervisor. But he is an artist by nature, and thus the chief ethnic writer, translator, and editor of the project. Other ethnic personnel in the project are now in responsible positions who started out as language assistants or in other supportive work. Unfortunately, all are not successful.

The administrative staff of the CLDP will be concerned with correspondence within the ethnic group as well as outside. Since many of them will have worked or are working as supervisors, they will do the evaluation of learner records and class records month by month. They will prepare for the monthly meeting with the teachers and supervisors, keep account books and the individual learner's biographical data and literacy records. They will also be involved in public and government relations.

The administration under the leadership of the NET must establish a filing system for the literacy program from the beginning. All village names and dates, records of individual learners, and literacy teachers and supervisors participating in the program (past and present) must be properly documented. Accurate record keeping can be invaluable to both present and future documentation of the work.

A further responsibility of the administrative staff is the collection and editing of stories and articles written by new literates. Well-written ones will be selected for publishing, hopefully in the program's own periodical on agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, health and hygiene, nutrition, and family planning (most of these written by government officers, published in their magazines, translated into the ethnic language and published by us with permission). All this is accomplished with ethnic staff under the supervision of the NET.

The administration will coordinate all supervision of village classes on a monthly basis, all monthly meetings with teachers, supervisors and ethnic managers, the twice yearly (more or less) examinations for new literates, and International Literacy Day and Literacy Year closing functions.

2.6 Establishing a legal ethnic organization

If possible, a legal ethnic organization is the first step to self-management and self-sufficiency of the program. A formally registered body of ethnic leaders and managers will be necessary, if income generating projects are started for self-sufficiency of the program. A legal ethnic organization will help advance the goal of self-management and self-sufficiency. This organization will establish a tie with non-ethnic national and international entities, which will help it gain recognition and respect in the national society. Since government development programs may be implemented in the ethnic area, government departments may assist and involve a registered national (ethnic) organization for development among their own people.

3. Management of the literacy program

3.1 Preparing for the literacy program

It will be advantageous to have ethnic managers managing specific departments with the assistance from the NET. The main attention must be placed on having all materials ready on time. This is important for the NET to achieve but more so for the ethnic management team, especially during the first year when there are so many unknowns. The goal is for a smooth running literacy program with few disappointments for the learners. It is the responsibility of the NET in close cooperation with the ethnic management team to have everything in place when the program begins.

Depending on the culture, getting things done ahead of time is not always part of their past experience, especially not in literacy. The NET will have to take responsibility and repeatedly encourage the ethnic management team to see the need for planning well ahead.

3.2 Preparing for village classes and teachers

The ethnic management team will have valuable input into the selection of villages and teachers, since they know places and people. The ethnic team and the NET will prepare for the survey, selecting potential villages before visiting them. The meetings with the village elders and the potential teachers will be conducted mainly by the ethnic team with a NET member present.

The NET and the ethnic managers will discuss these visits at headquarters and make selections together. Once the NET is confident these visits can be made by the ethnic managers and supervisors, they can tun this part of the program over to them.

3.3 Training of ethnic managers, supervisors, and teachers

Ethnic managers for the community literacy programs will best be trained in-service. Each individual will develop the managerial skills needed for literacy as he works under the guidance of the NET. It is therefore imperative to have ethnic personnel involved along with the NET in all activities of the program from the beginning. The ethnic management team will have to learn quickly that the program they are working in is **their** program and **their** future. This more than anything will motivate them to seriously take on leadership and make the CLDP a success. Specific management training for income generating projects (e.g., a printing press) must be provided outside the ethnic area in most cases. If the ethnic person is not enthusiastic, then he should be disqualified from management.

Supervisors are also best trained on the job. But some basic skills, such as how to treat teachers and learners, how to fill in monitoring and evaluation forms, and when to visit classes and for how long will be taught in special training sessions. His real learning experience is gained as he accompanies the NET on supervisory trips. The supervisors, as previously mentioned, will most likely be the language assistants of the linguistic team with additional persons joining as the program grows. From among these will emerge the future managers. For the management of the program this is an ideal situation since these ethnic staff are intimately familiar with all phases of the program, including its philosophy.

Teacher training will be managed by the NET in close cooperation with the ethnic supervisors and managers. It is important for all participants to realize that everyone is working for the literacy and development of their own people. Yes, there are differences in responsibility and position, but all must work together to accomplish this goal (i.e., majority literacy[3]). During teacher training the NET must see that all ethnic supervisors and managers attend, and as far as possible, participate. Attendance and participation is also compulsory for the monthly meetings, important occasions in the program for interaction, instruction, and learning.

Ethnic literacy teachers will receive training from the NET with assistance from the ethnic supervisors and managers. The training period must be set well ahead of time so that all potential teachers will be able to attend. With the passing of time, responsibilities of the ethnic staff will increase until they are fully in charge.

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[3] Editor's note: According to the author, this literacy is defined as "the functional use of full literacy skills in the mother tongue as well as the regional language, Telugu, in daily life."

Training of teachers will *(a)* be given prior to the literacy year, *(b)* continue during the year as supervisors visit the classes monthly, and *(c)* be given during the monthly meetings at headquarters. The close contact between all program personnel and learning adults is of utmost value.

3.4 Management of monitoring and internal evaluation

The literacy classes have begun. Management must now begin with monitoring and internal evaluation of literacy teachers and individual learners. The forms for monitoring must be in place. A member of the NET, together with some ethnic supervisors and managers, will visit each class once a month.

Again, there are two main goals for the NET: first, monitoring and assisting each learner in the class while at the same time teaching the teacher as checking is in progress; and second, having the ethnic supervisors and managers learn the procedures. During the second and third month the roles can be reversed with the ethnic staff taking the lead and the member of the NET monitoring supervision.

Back in the office, they will discuss the data and proceed. The NET with the ethnic supervisors and managers will prepare the monthly evaluation forms from the data for all classes in the program, to be ready for the monthly meeting (cf. Gustafsson 1991:107–9).

The monthly meetings for teachers and supervisors are well prepared. During the meeting the NET and ethnic staff will have interviews with individual teachers, discussing with them their performance and the progress during the past month. One member of the NET will have to lead these discussions for several months, after which he will observe an ethnic supervising manager conducting these interviews. Here, too, interaction and group spirit are very important and will further the success of the program.

The supervisors and the NET will be very busy during the last month of the literacy year conducting tests of all learners during class time. All learners who completed the entire course will be tested as they qualify for examinations. Towards the end of the literacy year the results from the monthly monitoring are combined for preparing charts.

3.5 Management of supervision

The importance of supervision cannot be stressed enough. It is here where the literacy program gets its vitality. Supervisors are an integral part of the entire literacy program, and the best staff must be assigned. Much care must be taken in developing their skills. Some of the chief supervisors bring along their experience and learning as language assistants to the NET or village class teachers. They have helped write primers and readers as well as assisted with the test classes. They have been important in surveying for new literacy classes, or they have taught classes in the past. Now they are developing their skills under the supervision and coordination of the NET.

One of the best supervisors, who is also good with people, should be assigned as supervision manager. The NET will still keep close contact with him and his work and help him in the management of the ethnic supervisors. Time management is an important factor in supervision, and this should be learned by the ethnic manager. He will be responsible to assign supervisors in such a way as to have reports and data back at headquarters early enough to allow for discussions, evaluation, and writing of the monthly evaluation form for the monthly meeting. Since the monthly meeting date is set at the previous meeting, there can be no change of date, and it is the responsibility of the supervision manager to have all requirements ready **before the meeting**.

The supervision manager is responsible to organize packing of needed materials (such as more primers, readers, chalk, notebooks, and pens) to be taken back to the classes by the teachers after the monthly meeting. He has to coordinate this with the manager for supplies and books, who in turn is responsible to have these ready at headquarters. The coordinating of all these requirements ahead of time is really the responsibility of the NET, and they must train the ethnic managers to pay very close attention to time management.

3.6 Salaries, wages, allowances, rewards, and awards

The ethnic staff must be paid punctually in accordance with local standards. The NET with their administrative staff is responsible for fair and prompt payment. Apart from all enthusiasm, good will, and possible offers of voluntary work, ethnic staff must be paid to guarantee continuity of the program. The NET should have the funds on hand and pre-arranged paydays must be kept.

Rewards and awards make for good working relationships. The recipient will be thankful to know that his work is appreciated. The NET must be liberal in this regard and award those of the ethnic staff who deserve recognition. Recognition should be given right across the board to any deserving person participating in the program. It can be either monetary, in kind, or in the form of a certificate. The NET should take care to make the decisions for rewards and awards together with the ethnic management, so that in future they can extend these on the same merit basis.

3.7 Writing proposals, budgets, accounts and reports

The NET, in consultation with their organization, may have to write the proposal for the program, or, if it is being written by the organization, the NET must have a heavy input. The toughest job is the budget. There are so many unknowns! Only those who have worked on budgets and then had to manage a program with them for the next few years can empathize here. Most likely the NET's organization will write the budget, and they in turn may have to write it according to rules and regulations given by the funding agency. In most cases, it will take a year or more before funds are available, and then the NET with the ethnic management team will have to live and work with it. To manage the program within the budget is a great task and will take time for the NET and the ethnic management team to learn.

Accounting is the responsibility of the NET. They should employ ethnic staff to help keep the books. Before too long an ethnic business manager will be needed. The NET, together with the ethnic accounting staff and the other ethnic managers, should review the accounts in the light of the budget from time to time.

Writing reports is a necessary and valuable exercise for the NET. Reporting periods will probably be decided by NET's organization, the funding agency, or both. Here, the data from the monthly supervision will be of tremendous value. Also, all accounting and reporting data from the income generating projects are of utmost importance. Without these no report of any value can be written. The NET will have the responsibility to write the reports but should be assisted by the ethnic management team. Reports on the program must **not** be missed in the hope that the NET's organization staff will write them. The ethnic management team must learn the importance of accurate data at this point in order to write a reliable report. (In the Adivasi Oriya—Telugu Adult Literacy Functional Education and Development Project the ethnic staff provides the data for the reports, but they are not yet able to write them.)

3.8 Government and Public Relations

The NET will be visiting the area government officials from time to time, and they in turn may be visiting the program's area. From the beginning the NET must be accompanied by ethnic language assistants and later by ethnic management personnel. The officials will appreciate knowing the involvement of the ethnic people in the program and the ethnic staff must learn to communicate openly with the officials. This goes for all other business outside the ethnic area where the ethnic staff must learn to handle work in offices and business establishments. Because the program is aiming for self-management and self-sufficiency, these relationships with non-ethnic people become all the more important.

4. Self-management and self-sufficiency of the program

4.1 Achieving self-management of the program

During the first few years of a CLDP the ethnic management team will progressively take on more responsibility. In most cases, they want to do so. If the NET feels confident that a certain ethnic team member can handle a department, he should be given this responsibility and work under the NET. This trust will not be abused and learning goes much faster. If outside funding is still being received, then the NET has the responsibility, and therefore a valid reason, to evaluate the work of the ethnic management team. This is an excellent transition time from NET management to ethnic management. The members of the ethnic management team will also feel good if their work is being evaluated and approved. As long as the NET is in the ethnic group area, they will be consulted by the ethnic management team, thus having a continuous input in successful self-management achievement.

Since the NET wants to assure successful continuity under ethnic management, the NET should be instrumental in putting ethnic staff into positions for which they have shown ability but are not really qualified culturally. These situations are extremely delicate, but seeing such placements through is paramount to the survival of the program under ethnic management.

The NET will have to carefully observe any move towards an ethnic bureaucracy by ethnic management. Such a move would certainly stagnate, if not destroy, the entire program. The program must be viewed as a business establishment and must be managed as such in order to guarantee success.

4.2 Management for literacy and development

As mentioned in the introduction, it is imperative to combine literacy with development activities. The community literacy program will only be effective for the ethnic population when it integrates with development and aims for better nutrition, health, education and employment. As the ethnic staff is assisted with self-management of the program, development activities should also be included along with the education of the ethnic managers as to the importance of these development activities in their program. It is through development that they can reach their goal of self-management and self-sufficiency by and for the ethnic population. The literature supports this strongly, world bodies and funding agencies certainly see no other way, and the need demands it.

The Honorable Mrs. Sheila Kaul, Minister of State for Education and Culture, Government of India, New Delhi, India, in her inaugural address for the International Seminar on Campaigning for Literacy held at Udaipur, India during January 4–11, 1982, points out,

> It must be admitted that the task of this Seminar is a difficult one. There was a time when literacy training aimed at giving the illiterate sufficient command of the mechanisms of reading, writing and elementary arithmetic to afford him the access to the written or printed word. But the situation has changed vastly during the last two decades. There has been a significant shift, and literacy training is being conceived to aim at an integrated instruction in reading and writing and in technical, occupational, scientific and civic activities. In other words, there has been a shift from mere literacy to functional literacy. As a matter of fact, since the World Congress of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy, which was held at Teheran in September 1965, interest in functional literacy training has grown steadily. There has been a sustained search to provide more efficient instruments for combating illiteracy than those which were available in the past. And significant experience in different parts of the world have given rise to new approaches that render literacy as an integral part of a total process that aims at the ultimate acquisition of vocational skills and usable knowledge (Bhola 1983:36).

Professor John C. Cairns in his Luncheon Address to the Canadian Organization for Development through Education, at their Annual General Meeting held June 23, 1990 at Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada said,

> In all of this, what is the role of literacy? Let me make a few points. First, literacy should be a means to an end, it should never be an end in itself. In the Third World context, I believe literacy must be functional. It must be directly related to the practical needs ... if it is designed as a functional tool by which people master and interact with their day-to-day environment, it is the step upon which most further progress depends. The issue then is the type of literacy and the quality of literacy, not literacy in a general or abstract sense (Cairns, 1990:4).

Furthermore, Naihuwo Ahai, National Literacy Secretariat, Papua New Guinea, in his paper presented at the International

Literacy Day Colloquium held October 9–13, 1990 at Washington, D.C., brings out the following:

> LAP (The Literacy and Awareness Programme) has been designed to achieve National Objective No. 13 of the National Constitution which aims: "to help people understand the changes occurring in contemporary PNG society and to improve their ability to maintain and enhance this awareness and their participation in development through the improvement of basic literacy and access to development information." This is envisaged to be done through the linkage of the literacy programmes with development information needed and desired by the local communities. It is hoped that such a linkage will promote participation in development and government (Ahai 1990:10).

And finally, Agenta Lind and Anton Johnston write in *Adult Literacy in the Third World*,

> If there are no concomitant perspectives of improved political, social and economic conditions for the population, even with literacy skills, why should the illiterates then use their time for literacy classes?
>
> The Declaration of Persepolis stated: "Successes were achieved when literacy was linked to man's fundamental requirements, ranging from his immediate vital needs to effective participation in social change." (Bataille 1976:273).
>
> We have argued throughout this paper that this factor underlies success in achieving and retaining literacy, whatever type of program or activity is involved (Lind and Johnston 1986:83).

Once we are decided to include development activities into our literacy program we need to prepare the ethnic management team for development activities as well. This will most certainly involve training by an outside agency in whatever field. This will be accomplished either by sending ethnic trainees outside their area or by bringing trainers to them, the latter being much preferred. Here Margaret Bendor-Samuel's Branch Literacy Unit (BLU) will play an important role (Bendor-Samuel 1990).

4.3 Management for self-sufficiency

We are convinced that real and lasting development must have the full participation of the people, both in their accepting the development activities and getting involved in them. The ethnic management team must be fully convinced of the value of a particular development activity for their people and have them accept development for themselves.

To aim for self-sufficiency of the CLDP, it will become necessary to start income-generating projects. Here a completely new area of management and management training is involved. Again, most of this training will have to be given outside the ethnic area. Once vocational skills have been learned and some of the ethnic staff have received specialized management training, it is the task of the NET to help the ethnic management team achieve self-sufficiency in the newly established income generating projects.

The NET will have to spend much time in observing the ethnic trainees and the management team in order to place people into the right position. The NET, however, will also be in the best position to understand ethnic culture and how all new development will in some ways interface with traditional culture. Here understanding and counseling ethnic personnel is needful to make the income generating projects a success.

4.4 Self-management and self-sufficiency of the program

Whatever the size of the project, it should work towards self-management and self-sufficiency by the ethnic group. If the ethnic management personnel realize that they are working for their own welfare and the welfare of their people in the future, commitment will become evident.

The ethnic management team will be an effective communication link between the government and the government literacy and development agencies. For this very reason a program owned and operated by the ethnic group should become a registered legal entity. If that has been accomplished, government agencies feel free to extend financial, material, and training aid to this legal ethnic group. The NET is still very much needed to coordinate and assure that the income generating projects are successfully managed.

4.5 An ethnic program management committee

The chief language assistants, who are the potential supervisors and managers, should be the members forming an ethnic committee. This committee will be chaired at first by one of the NET members but must be turned over to an ethnic chairman within two to three years. Although the NET member is still "active" in the background, the ethnic member is leading. Such a committee is extremely valuable in achieving self-management.

5. Conclusion

The scope of this article on the management of a CLDP has gone beyond just literacy. The "total package" includes management and development activities as well as the monitoring of a self-managing and self-sufficient program. Very few of us in SIL have had previous experience in management. We will be learners as we lead, coordinate, and guide a literacy and development program headed for ethnic management and ownership.

In SIL, we have all the tools, the commitment, and the mandate from the Bible to accomplish this worthy work. We who are working in traditional ethnic communities have an inside cutting edge, a prerequisite for being effective catalysts between ethnic communities and the modern world. In fact, we have a moral responsibility to make available our expertise for the total well-being of the ethnic communities.

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Perceptions of Language and Literacy

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Most preliterate minority language speakers recognize that

(1) their language is different;

(2) they cannot read.

They also observe that literacy seems to be a phenomenon of speakers of the language of wider communication (LWC). That is, outsiders (LWC speakers) know how to read and write, and insiders who know how to read and write do so in the LWC. Having had no opportunity for mother tongue (MT) literacy, they come to a faulty, though logical conclusion that knowledge of the LWC is the same as the ability to read and write.

As a literacy field worker (LW) promoting mother tongue literacy as the entry point of literacy, I was fascinated by repeated versions of this scene with preliterates (PL):

LW: Would you like to learn to read?
PL: Yes, I would like to learn the LWC.
LW: But would you like to learn to read in your own language [MT]?
PL: No, I already know my own language.

I would go on to explain that if one could read the MT, one could also read the LWC and that reading itself would be a tool for learning the LWC better. Few, if any, understood this logic. Only those who took the risk and actually learned to read and write the MT eventually understood how literacy skills transfer from one language to other languages.

In India, preliterate minority language speakers have an added dimension to their language and literacy perceptions—the perception that different languages have different scripts. The history of literacy in India is embedded in the fact that each language has its own script. Therefore, many people find it difficult, if not impossible, to imagine a written language without its own script. The first time I taught Indian linguistic students, I asked them to illustrate the principle that any language can be written in any script by writing a sentence of their own MT in three different scripts. Even with their linguistic savvy and their knowledge of several Indian scripts plus Roman script, they found the exercise baffling.

Linguistic field workers in India report that this same puzzle colors the perceptions of preliterate minority language speakers. The Indian version of the above dialogue goes something like the following.

LW: Would you like to learn to read?
PL: Yes, I would like to learn the LWC.
LW: But would you like to learn to **read** in your MT?
PL: No, I want to learn the LWC letters [script].

Raja Mohan Doss, Field Secretary of Indian Evangelical Mission and former field worker among the Korku people of Maharashtra, demonstrates a beautiful understanding of the language and literacy perceptions and aspirations of indigenous people. He makes this suggestion for promoting mother tongue literacy among minority language peoples in India.

LW: Would you like to learn to read the script of the LWC?
PL: Yes, I would like to learn the LWC letters [script].
LW: I will teach you the script of LWC. I will teach you the LWC letters using words you know [MT]. That will make it easier for you to remember the LWC letters.

By acknowledging the preliterate's perceptions and his aspirations, it is possible to gain his whole-hearted cooperation. At the same time, he has the opportunity to enter the world of literacy in any language through the door he knows best—his own mother tongue.

Tone Orthography and Pedagogy

Ursula Wiesemann

Ursula worked among the Kaingang Indians in Brazil from 1958–1978 and headed the teacher training school for them from 1970–1971. She obtained a Ph.D. degree in Germany in 1966. Since 1978 she has been a linguistics consultant for the Africa Area of SIL *and is involved in training indigenous linguists.*

1. Introduction

The question of how to write tone has been explored in practice in a number of tone languages; a few articles have been written on what people tried and what seemed to be successful. Yet there does not seem to be a general consensus on how tones are best written, indeed, there are still many questions on how tone analysis should best be done. Even the symbols used for writing tone are not standardized. In Africa, for example, many linguists use accent marks to mark tone, while others use punctuation marks. The use of numbers, as in the Americas, does not appear to be used to mark tone in Africa. In these last few years, the body of information on the subject has been growing. Joseph Mfonyam (1990) has written an impressive dissertation about a controlled experiment on how to write tone done in Cameroon. Mr. Mfonyam is a native speaker of the language (Bafut) in which he tested four ways of writing tone. The results of his testing contradicted what had been previously reported on the writing of tone. Whereas the previous assumption was that high tone should be written and low left unmarked, Mfonyam found out that the contrary is true for his language. This principle has since been applied to languages as far away as Liberia with good results. Reports are coming in of languages where tone, written on the basis of marking high tone, were difficult if not impossible to teach—a situation rectified by simply switching to marking low tone as the basic tone and making the necessary adjustments.

2. Tone orthography

Orthography questions have to do with psycholinguistics. In order to write anything, the writer has to have a certain understanding of the units which make up the writing system. If these correspond to what he intuitively knows about his language, they are easily taught and easily brought up to the conscious level that he needs for handling them. This is certainly true of tone orthographies. Two related questions need to be answered: (1) Which tone(s) does the native speaker "hear" most easily? (2) Are there certain general rules which help give direction as we struggle to discover this?

The first step, of course, is to try to understand what the tone system of the language is, that is, how lexical and grammatical tones relate to and influence each other. Methods found helpful in accomplishing this in Africa can be found in *Notes on Linguistics*, "Tone Analysis in African Languages" (Wiesemann 1989a). The article suggests, among other things, the places in the grammar where tone changes (grammatical tones) are liable to occur. It also lists the most common phonetic tone changes the author has encountered.

Once the analysis is done, the question still remains: which tone(s) should be written in the orthography? Discounting the purely phonetic tone changes, a tone orthography should be developed which takes into consideration:

(a) all the significant tone changes;

(b) the way the tone is pronounced (rather than the underlying string as analyzed according to the suggestions in the article in *Notes on Linguistics*);

(c) all the tone ambiguities. These are quickly surveyed by examining all the minimal pairs, words, expressions, and clauses (though it is not enough to mark these; see below).

A **minimum** way of writing tone systematically should be explored. This means that, if possible, only one of the surface tones (counting level and glide tones) should be symbolized. If that does not consistently mark all the constructions in such a way that no (or almost no) ambiguities are left, then a second tone should be added.

Only in very rare cases should three tones be marked. This is true even for tone systems with eight or nine different tones, as found in Cameroon. This means that a number of tones are actually left unmarked. The system should, however, be constructed in such a way that no sentences would have to be read twice in order to be understood.

Once the tone (or tones) to be marked is chosen, it should be **marked consistently wherever it is pronounced**. The orthography should closely accompany the pronunciation; the rules should be sound-grapheme relationship types of rules. All the significant tone changes should be retrievable from the tone orthography if they involve the tone that has been chosen to be marked.

In principle the tone that is less frequent should be marked rather than the most frequent one. In languages with downstep, however, it is best to mark low tone rather than high tone, precisely because of the downstep which has such an effect on the high tones following the downstepped high tone. It becomes quite confusing. Should high tone be marked high even after downstep though, at that point, it sounds like mid? And often the downstep itself needs to be marked if the high tone is chosen, but it can be safely ignored when low tone is chosen. There might be a rare construction which remains ambiguous by not writing downstep, but this would probably be so rare that it could safely be ignored.

In many tone languages it is the low tone (not the high tone as often supposed) that is the one most easily identified by the native speaker. It is, therefore, the best tone to be marked (and the high tone left unmarked) even when downstep does not make it necessary. In addition, in many languages a tone marking system based on the low tone gets by with less tone marks than if it is based on the high tone. If it is determined that the language is indeed tonal, the low tone should be marked first and then determine how many tones are needed in order to have the whole language disambiguated. If, on the other hand, the language has melodic stress, where there is only one pertinent tone per word and all other tones can be generated by rules, it is the high tone stress that needs to be marked.

Do not think that it is sufficient to mark only minimal pairs. This is not good for reading and hopeless for writing. Who wants memorize a list of minimal pairs, that he then must access every time he writes a word, simply to know whether he needs to write that tone or not? As long as an orthography rule is linked to the pronunciation (barring purely phonetic phenomena), it is a simple rule which does not interfere with concentrating on the message one is trying to write. All other rules do interfere and are therefore difficult rules. They should be weeded out of all orthographies, particularly tone orthographies.

As for the symbols to use in tone orthographies, the most common practice in Africa is to use < ` > for low tone, < ´ > for high, < ^ > for high-low glides, < ˇ > for low-high glides, and < ¯ > for mid tone. What is in use in Bafut are < ´ >, < ^ >, and < ˇ > (though the language has seven phonetic tones). Those who advertise the use of punctuation marks for tone are quite happy with them. A test run in Liberia indicates that the actual symbols do not matter. They tested the same system, using accent and punctuation marks; the results were the same. The accent marks seem quite adequate and more acceptable than other symbols in that they look more like European writings.

3. Tone pedagogy

Another question that needs to be addressed is that of tone pedagogy. Out of the various approaches tried the most sensible one seems to be the following.

3.1 Lexical tone

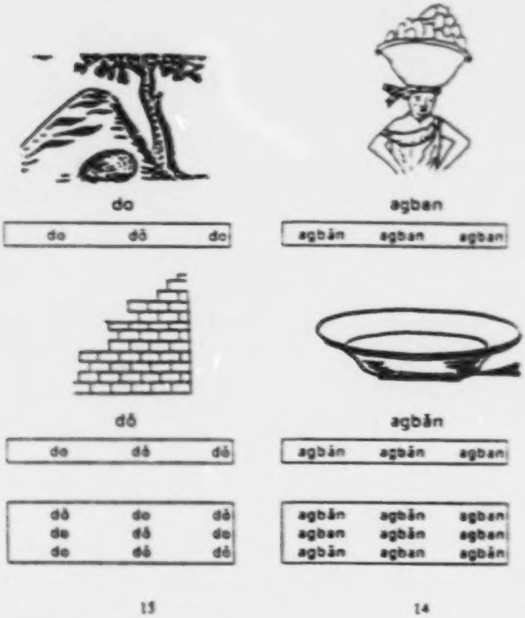
Lexical tone is best introduced before the vowels and consonants are taught. Do it in some preprimer lessons, combining the teaching of the (visual) preprimer techniques with the sight word teaching techniques. Chose minimal pairs which are easily illustrated and introduce them as you would a sight word with its illustration. Underneath each picture-word combination introduce a line which contains both words, from which the learner then has to chose the one identical to the picture-word combination at hand. Next the learner might "read" all the words in the line, which should be simple to do by just paying attention to the marks that distinguish the pair.

Underneath the two picture-word combinations of the minimal pair (plus their exercise line) introduce another set of three lines in which the two words appear in different orders on each of the three lines. Again these can be read.

As an additional exercise, the learner can be presented with a set of words without the distinguishing marks. The learner can then introduce them on some of the words, so that the two words of the pair are again included in the exercise.

The following is an example of a tone lesson from the Fɔngbe language primer[1] from Benin, West Africa.

Figure 1. Fɔngbe tonal lessons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[1] Deha, Jean Jacques. 1992. *Wǎ xa fɔngbe: Syllabaire fɔngbe*. Cotonou, Benin: Société Internationale de Linguistique. pp. 14–15.

The reason why it is good to teach the tone marks first in this manner is that the student gets into the habit of first looking for the tone marks, a very useful reading technique. It will soon become automatic which is the goal. Several minimal pairs are needed to teach this.

Moving into the primer lessons, syllables can be added to and word drills constructed (not in every lesson, but occasionally). Start with the lexical tone drills. Choose several words already introduced with the same tone pattern. Do not use sight words at this point, just previously constructed words. Put the words under each other, contrasting them with a list of words with one other pattern. This box could be surrounded with a line and marked with a talking drum or any other musical instrument which identifies the box as a tone drill. Some linguists put [dada] syllables underneath with the same tone mark to highlight the marks. If the tone marks have been introduced in the prelessons, this may not be necessary.

3.2 Grammatical tone

As for the grammatical tone, this is best introduced (or rather practiced) in the grammatical drill section. As it appears in the text, a grammatical drill can be constructed much as it would be constructed for any other grammatical feature. The option of whether or not to mark it as a tone drill, using the same symbol that marks the drills of lexical tone series of words, is at the linguist's discretion.

4. Conclusion

People have found it very helpful to be led through their grammar at the various points at which tone changes occur. Many preconceived ideas about tone must be addressed before people will be willing to write the tone needed for reading their language well! This is more pronounced in the languages that have been written without tone for some time and in countries where official policy discourages writing of tone. The latter situation is the most difficult one because people will never enjoy reading if they have to read every (other) sentence twice, sometimes more often, before they can be sure what it means. Unfortunately, that is the situation in so many tone languages in Africa when little or no tone is written. This is true even in tone languages that have lexical tone only. So this whole issue of writing tone is indeed a very important matter for reader comprehension of tonal languages.

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Will Literacy Have a Lasting Impact?

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Ghana is one of the foremost nations in encouraging the value of literacy and setting a national literacy goal. Goals are necessary and must be set, but action must follow. It is easy to use the words, but it is not so easy to implement the action.

When there is to be instruction for everyone in literacy, some traditions will be changed. Moving an entire society from illiteracy to the state of "literateness" is a little like mixing oil and water. As long as the shaking takes place, the oil and water are mixed. When the shaking (or motivation) ceases, oil no longer penetrates the water. The same situation can occur with enthusiasm for literacy. The first thrust brings a great response, but in succeeding years the response lessens. There must be some catalytic agent in force which will penetrate the tradition and keep this state of "literateness" (i.e., the desire to be literate—a desired goal).

Enthusiasm can sometimes be a counter-productive quality. Enthusiasm can sweep through like a flood. Everyone is excited and wants to be "part of the act." A flood, however, spends its energy and then ebbs. What is left in its wake? Only debris. So, too, enthusiasm can ebb when results are not as rapid as expected and no lasting changes have been accomplished. If the enthusiasm is generated by external forces, it is easily dissipated. If the motivation is from within the learners, if they see results from their literateness, motivation will continue.

The following discussion presents some possibilities in the catalytic agents which can bring a permanent desire for literateness in Ghana. At every step of planning, the areas in which literacy can be of value should be stressed. There should be much motivation of how the skills which will be learned can be used in everyday life.

Each language in Ghana is unique, which means that each language in Ghana has unique grammatical structure. Each language, also, has a unique syllable structure. The speakers of each language have understood subconsciously the structures of their language since early childhood, otherwise they could not communicate verbally.

Recent research has revealed much information on the way language is processed in the mind. The following three quotes from *Mother Tongue: How Humans Create Language* (Davis 1994:273–75) tell of research by Laura Ann Pettito. She states that "infants must be born with a sensitivity to certain patterns in language usage. It is not the method—either sound or sight—that is important but the patterns they contain." She also suggested that "the child's brain contains some kind of pattern recognition mechanism that is sensitive to patterns." She proposes that children possess "innate and unique sensitivity to rhythmic and distributional patterns of prosody."

Therefore, in the process of learning the skills of writing and reading, the structure patterns need to be presented in an understandable manner. Each aspect of structure should be presented in a manner which emphasizes the use in the language.

As an example, we can look at some of the syllable structures of some Ghanaian languages. All languages have syllables consisting of a consonant and a vowel, hereafter indicated by CV. However, that is not the only syllable pattern. Some languages, but not all, have syllables consisting of a consonant followed immediately by the letter "l" (CLV). Should the speakers who do not use a CLV syllable need to learn it in order to write their language? Of course not. On the other hand, if only CV patterns are taught, how can the speaker using *hle* as a word know how to spell it easily unless that pattern (not that specific word) is taught?

Another example is the use of a consonant at the end of a syllable, CVC. The speakers of languages which have this structure must be made aware of that sound at the end of the syllable. The speakers would know when listening whether, for example, *to* or *tok* was spoken, in ordinary speech. So also, they must be able to write the difference.

Writing is as vital to the lasting quality of literacy as is reading. In the article, *Mother Tongue Literacy—A Necessity* (Hampton 1993), the close relationship between verbal and written communication was shown. Writing reinforces each new element presented in the reading portion of the lesson. Reading and writing are not aspects which are foreign to their lives. Writing is simply another form of the speech which has been used since childhood. As any new element (even a single letter) is learned, it should be related to something which can be spoken.

If the teaching of writing and reading is related to the everyday lives of the people, the impact will be lasting. Words need not be repeated over and over again. (No child is taught a new word in his language by saying it many times! He learns it in context.) After introducing a new word, some emphasis must be placed on it. Using the question "What is this?" emphasizes that the learner already knows the word and is now remembering it in a different environment.

Ghana—a literate nation! A goal which can be reached so that Ghana will still be a literate nation twenty-five years from now.

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A Genre-based Approach to Literacy

Delle Matthews

Delle Matthews received her B.A. in Education from Sydney University, a Diploma in Reading Education from Kuringgai College of Advanced Education, and an M.A. in Applied Linguistics from the University of Texas. She has worked in Irian Jaya, Indonesia Branch (1985–91). Two of the six years she worked in Irian Jaya were spent in the Yale literacy program in the highlands of Irian Jaya. She is currently on staff at the South Pacific SIL.

1. Introduction

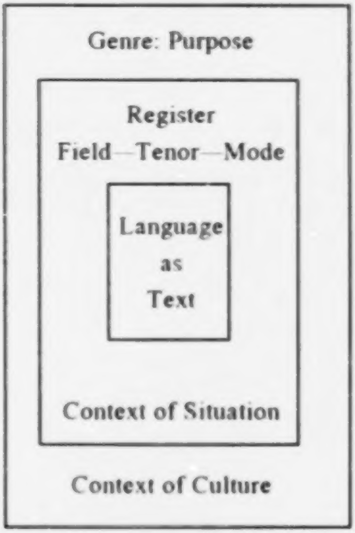
When the first Yale literacy class graduated they declared the certificate they received to be a "rubbish" certificate. The course had not taught them the skills they would need to get a job in the local town. The approach had been a autonomous one, teaching general decoding and comprehension skills, but the participants needed a course that taught literacy for specific purposes. This article will introduce just such an approach. It has come to be known as GENRE THEORY, but it is steeped heavily in systemic functional linguistics.

2. Genre theory—what is it?

Systemic functional linguistics is concerned with how language is used. It seeks to explain, in a systemic way, how language relates to the activities of a given culture. All language is embedded in the "context of culture" and in the "context of situation" (Halliday and Hasan 1985:99). The CONTEXT OF CULTURE limits the types of texts and language choices that can be made in any particular situation if communication is to be meaningful. Language learners must learn the appropriate texts and their particular language features for each context and learn to exercise choices in each context. Texts which have similar purposes and features are called "genre" and may be oral or written.

The features of language make a significant contribution to the meaning of a text beyond its content. These features go to make up the register of language which relates to the context of situation. Genres are realized as register when the variety of language is chosen. Systemic linguists tell us that the choices made in the "field", "tenor" and "mode" of the text determine the register. FIELD is the topic (i.e., what the discourse is about) and includes the linguistic structures; TENOR includes the social relationships operating; and MODE is the manner in which it is delivered, whether it is written or spoken for instance.

Diagram 1. Summary of the systemic-functional model of language (Christie 1990b)



Genre theory applies these concepts to literacy. The approach is based on a number of premises. The focus is on whole texts not isolated sentences. It recognizes that the linguistic elements of the text contribute to the meaning of the text just as the content does.

Texts which are produced in similar contexts and for similar purposes share similar features. These features distinguish one genre from another. Genres have a purpose or goal and are staged following a specific sequence. They are, therefore, able to be deconstructed and analyzed. Some types of genres include the report, explanation, exposition, discussion, procedure, description, and narrative.

Most importantly, genre theory is based on the fact that speech and writing are very different. When writing we choose vocabulary and grammar that is appropriate and which would be quite different if we had spoken the same content. Transcribed speech is easily recognized as such and presents problems of readability to the reader.

The dividing line, however, between what we recognize as spoken language and written language is not always clear. Joyce (1992) explains the notion of mode continuum. There is a continuum from spoken to written language. It is one of increasing abstraction as the language becomes more distant from the context of situation. In order to recreate the context, written texts use language differently. For example, written English tends to be lexically more dense and grammatically less intricate than spoken English. Written English, in other words, carries more content words per clause, and spoken language uses more functors. The mode continuum is also evident in neoliterate languages. Grammatical differences between spoken and written styles have been documented (e.g., Wise 1991).

The types of genres typically chosen for speech and writing, while there is some overlap, tend to differ in literate societies. Many genres have been developed specifically for the written model (e.g., newspaper articles, reports, legal documents, and forms).

Someone familiar with the spoken genres of a particular language may not necessarily have the same degree of comprehension of written genres that are farther away on the mode continuum. Genre theorists, therefore, would probably object to the following definition of a literate person by Gudschinsky:

> That person is literate who, in a language that he speaks, can read and understand anything he would have understood if it

> had been spoken to him; and who can write, so that it can be read, anything that he can say (Gudschinsky 1973:5).

Because the written word is not the same as the spoken, writers often experience difficulty when they are asked to put into writing what they have just spoken. Blanche-Benveniste (1994) claims that poor writers are also aware that the differences between written and spoken form exist, and they feel strongly that speech form is not appropriate for writing. Learning to write is more than just learning the association between sound and symbol. It is learning to control the genres peculiar to written texts. This involves understanding the purposes and uses of a particular genre in its cultural context, understanding its distinguishing schematic and linguistic features, being able to construct meaning from the genre when reading, and being able to produce the appropriate genre for a given situation.

3. The teaching cycle

In a genre-based approach, teachers guide learners in a systematic way to the control of written genres. There is continuous, planned intervention by the teacher who is acknowledged as an expert in the use of the genre. Teachers claim, however, that there is joint responsibility between the teacher and learner for the learning. The teacher is considered to be authoritative not authoritarian (Hammond and Freebody 1994).

Learners are not expected to control the genre perfectly in one step but make increasing approximations to the real thing. Through repeated exposure they learn to recognize the cultural significance and purpose of the genre, its schematic structure, and the significant linguistic structures. They develop the appropriate reading and writing skills to be able ultimately to produce the genre independently.

The stages of the teaching cycle are listed below.

1) **Building a knowledge of the field**. Teachers and learners pool their overall knowledge of the cultural and social contexts of the topic, researching what they do not know.

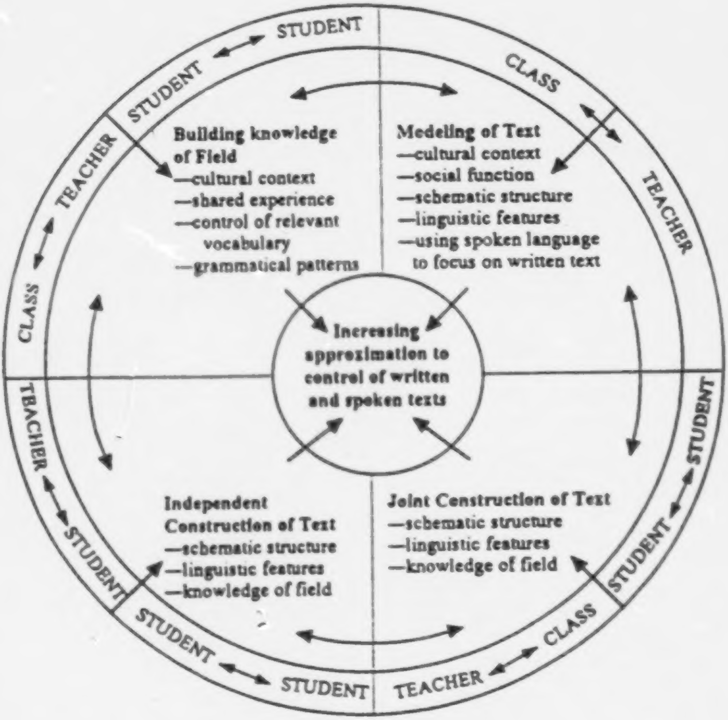
2) **Modeling of the text**. The teacher presents examples of the genre and deconstructs one text in a systematic way. The social function and purpose of the genre is discussed,

and the characteristic schematic structure and grammatical features are analyzed.

3) **Joint negotiation of the text.** The group jointly constructs a text on the blackboard with the help of the teacher, deliberately rephrasing oral forms to become written ones.

4) **Independent construction of the text.** The learner produces the text independently with consultation available from the teacher when necessary.

Diagram 2. A model of pedagogy (Hammond 1992:17)


STUDENT
STUDENT
CLASS
TEACHER
CLASS
TEACHER
Building knowledge of Field
—cultural context
—shared experience
—control of relevant vocabulary
—grammatical patterns
Modeling of Text
—cultural context
—social function
—schematic structure
—linguistic features
—using spoken language to focus on written text
Increasing approximation to control of written and spoken texts
TBACHIER
STUDENT
STUDENT
Independent Construction of Text
—schematic structure
—linguistic features
—knowledge of field
Joint Construction of Text
—schematic structure
—linguistic features
—knowledge of field
STUDENT
STUDENT
CLASS
STUDENT
STUDENT
TEACHER

The cycle is flexible and can be entered at any point. Stages can be repeated when necessary. For instance, if learners are not ready for independent construction, they may repeat the joint construction or modeling stages. If the goal is to be able to read the genre, the joint and independent construction stages will be omitted (cf. Appendix for sample lesson).

Modeling can be time consuming, but it is fundamental to the learner's understanding of the genre. For a less experienced learner it is better to concentrate on the purpose, context, and schematic structure of the text rather than the linguistic features. They are more difficult, but an understanding of them is necessary at some point as it improves the learner's own writing.

Such deconstruction of texts precludes a metalanguage to describe the various features that are found. Far from placing an extra burden on learners it can improve reading ability (Yaden and Templeton 1986). Whitby (1991) also testifies that a metalinguistic awareness improved the reading fluency and teaching ability of Dadibi teachers.

4. What is in it for us?

As Halliday (1985) points out, while in literate societies speech and writing share the functions of language with only a partial overlap between the two, in oral societies spoken language serves all language functions. The difference in genres used for speech and writing are perhaps more marked in a literate society than a neoliterate one. Is a genre approach, therefore, relevant to the needs of a neoliterate society, and can it be taught?

It is the premise of this article that when an oral society comes in contact with a dominant literate one they are most likely to need a genre-based approach to literacy. Spoken language is between a speaker and audience who are physically close at a particular time. Language of an oral society is always used in the same physical and temporal context as the hearer. Written language, however, separates the speaker and hearer by time and location. It is ideally suited for those functions in language that are not face to face (e.g., letter writing and record-keeping).

As ethnic groups come in contact with a dominant literate culture they are faced with the need for language forms not bound by time and space. As new genres are accepted from the literate society into the vernacular language, there is an increasing need to master the genres of the dominant culture. Increasing mobility and culture contact mean that face to face modes of language are no longer adequate.

A case in point is the Yale people geographically isolated in the highlands of Irian Jaya. Because of changes brought about through contact with outsiders, they have needed to introduce the genres of calendars, shopping lists (to send with someone going to town), personal letters (to send to children away at school), and Scriptures into the vernacular. These all have functions which involve either temporal or spatial distance. Their leaders are also finding the need to control the genres of the Indonesian language and culture that will enable them to obtain the benefits from that society and communicate with government and church officials.

Literate societies tend to value writing much more than speech, and someone who is not literate is not only disadvantaged in a dominant literate society, they are considered inferior as well. To deny people access to written genre both in their own language and in the national language is to disable them. Hammond and Freebody (1994) go further to claim that traditional functional literacy programs also disable those trained to be "minimally functionally literate," since they limit the genres that are considered to be essential to be functional. A better definition of functional literacy would include a full range of the functions of literacy, and therefore genres, within a culture.

A genre approach, therefore, is applicable in both a vernacular literacy program and in a program for transition to the national language. As Henne (1988) points out, the mother-tongue is most likely to be used for "sentimental" reasons and the national language for "instrumental" reasons. In a multilingual society, then, the genres found in the vernacular language are likely to be closer to the spoken end of the mode continuum, and the genres in the national language would be closer to the written end. The latter will be harder to learn.

SIL is strong when it comes to working with the beginning reader, i.e., someone "learning to read." At this stage of reading development the learner needs and tends to write texts that are close to the way he speaks, although the texts are never exactly like speech. In the early stages of learning to read, the construction of personal meaning is most important. Therefore, a process approach to writing, which holds personal meaning as important, is most appropriate.

Hammond (1990) points out, however, that as learners mature as writers their written language will move further along the mode continuum to the written mode. It is perhaps at the "reading to learn" stage that genre theory is most useful. Winser (1992/93) says that learning about language is inseparable from learning through language. A genre approach, while it can be introduced in the early stages, is most useful in a postprimer program. Since it tends to focus more on writing, it may be also useful for a writer's training program as Dawson (1986) suggests.

Verhoeven (1994), in his discussion on functional literacy, says that a successful literacy program must see literacy on a life-long continuum and as being deeply involved in social practice and cultural tradition. Similarly, Jennings (1990), in his study of a literacy program in Bangladesh, has come to the conclusion that to achieve a level of functional literacy there must not only be plans for a postprimer program, but literacy activities must be integrated with other development activities. The application of literacy skills to everyday life must be made explicit to the learner. A genre-based approach to teaching literacy does this.

Incorporating a genre-based approach is a step towards a more ideological approach to literacy. We have long espoused the need for the postprimer program to ensure skills are maintained and used. However, in keeping with our autonomous approach to literacy, a postprimer program usually aims to develop fluency and automaticity in decoding, ignoring many other aspects of literacy.

The genre approach is "do-able" in the neoliterate societies with whom SIL works. Both Dawson (1986) and Whitby (1991) have been successful with similar approaches based on developing language awareness. The method has two qualities that suit SIL's needs. It is structured, and it uses modeling. The structure makes it easier for teachers to handle if the program is well-planned, and the technique of modeling suits the "learn by observation-and-imitation" style of most of the cultures in which SIL works. It does, of course, mean that teachers must also be trained in language awareness. If this concept seems familiar, it is probably because it incorporates the elements of good practice with which we in SIL are already familiar.

5. Conclusion

This article has been a very brief introduction to genre theory. It has tried to show how systemic functional linguistics has influenced literacy and has assessed the relevance of genre theory to SIL programs. While the cycle of one teaching unit has been discussed, the planning of a complete program, including determining needs, sequence within the curriculum, and assessment has not. The debate between process writing and genre theory also was not addressed. These issues are covered well in many of the references following.

This article purports that genre theory is relevant to SIL literacy programs. As attention is paid to the domains of language use in local communities, consideration for which written genres are needed in each one must also be addressed. Literacy programs should be based on the multiple literacy needs of the community members rather than the autonomous skills of decoding and comprehension.

Appendix A

Sample lesson plan for Yale women's class

Aim: Students will be able to produce a shopping list according to their budget (having priced all items).

1) Building knowledge

Using a picture of a shop in town, discuss shopping in general and the types of goods available at both the local kiosk and in town. Discuss how someone might buy goods from town, including giving a list to someone else going (women do not go). Discuss such things as who they can ask and costs involved including freight charges.

2) Modeling

Teacher and students read together three or four samples of shopping lists. Discuss the types of items on each list and work out the total cost of each. Discuss the descriptions given for each item (e.g., color, size, number wanted, and amount prepared to pay), the fact that only names of items and adjectives are given, and that they are listed one under the other.

3) Joint construction of text

Construct two shopping lists on the blackboard. Decide who will be asked to shop. Students give the items, and the teacher writes giving direction when needed. Referring to a price list, have students cost each item and total the cost of the list. Compare the list with the budget and decide if the list needs to be modified.

4) Independent construction of text

Each student determines the amount of money she has to spend. The students then write a list choosing and costing items from the price list available. Have the students read each others lists and role play shopping for each other.

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Making Readers Literate: Transition Literacy in Sub-Saharan Africa

Barbara Trudell

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1. Introduction

When SIL linguists and educators began work over fifty years ago, their programs targeted the isolated preliterate peoples of the world. Hidden away in the remote mountains of southern Mexico and Central America, the vast Amazon rain forest, the steep valleys of Papua New Guinea, and elsewhere, these groups were the focus in the formative years of SIL policy and practice. Such groups share a number of characteristics: they do not speak the language of wider communication (LWC) of the country; they are truly preliterate—that is, there exists no written culture to build on in any language; they usually have no access to national or regional-level infrastructures which provide the rest of the country with such services as formal education and health care. Literacy and education activities in areas like this are based on mother tongue literacy instruction, extensive preliteracy work, and often the basic principles of public health. Some programs offer instruction in LWC language acquisition and literacy to some degree, where this has been a felt need by the target group.

However, in the last few decades SIL field workers have often encountered a quite different situation: people groups whose mother tongue is not written or used in education, but who have been exposed to some extent to print and education in a second language. These groups are often larger than the preliterate groups, and their contact with the outside world has been more extensive. Many of the people groups of Africa fall into this second category. Most of the people may be functionally illiterate, but there is usually a significant percentage of the population which has participated in the non-indigenous society to some extent: gaining facility in the

LWC, attending school (sometimes even through university), and so becoming more or less literate. This is how people may come to be literate in a second language but not in their first language.

Transition literacy, the transfer of reading ability in one language to a comparable ability in another, can be a useful literacy strategy for preliterate, monolingual groups as well as for more exposed, bilingual groups. For the former, the transition is from L1 literacy to L2 literacy.[1] For the latter, the direction of transition is the other way, from L2 to L1.[2] The assumptions and strategies involved in the two types of transition literacy are different.

2. L1–L2 transition

Transition literacy from L1 to L2 requires a target population which is fully literate (able to read with comprehension) in their mother tongue, and also able to speak and understand the L2. The idea that L2 literacy instruction will in itself lead to fluency in the L2 is quite erroneous, though surprisingly widespread. Programs in Africa which successfully include L1–L2 transition literacy generally precede it with oral second language instruction. For example the literacy program operated by the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) consists of four stages: initial and advanced mother tongue literacy, oral English as a second language (ESL) instruction, and finally mother tongue-to-English transition literacy. Similarly, the PROPELCA (*Projet de Recherche Operationnelle pour l'Enseignement de Langues au Cameroun*, Operational Research Project for Language Education in Cameroon) program of bilingual children's education in Cameroon includes components of both oral second language acquisition and L1–L2 transition literacy. Among the Ngbaka of northwestern Zaire, the advanced stages of the adult literacy program also include oral

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[1] L1 refers to first language (mother tongue) and L2 refers to second language.

[2] Different terms have been used to describe the two kinds of transition literacy, including "transfer" and "bridge materials." For the purposes of this article, the term TRANSITION is used to describe the general strategy; the terms "L1–L2" and "L2–L1" are used to specify the direction of transition.

French as a second language (FSL) instruction and transition literacy from Ngbaka to French.

Interest in L1–L2 transition literacy can be economic, social, or prestige-related. In many cases, L2 fluency and literacy directly affect one's ability to carry out trade advantageously with non-speakers of L1. Participation in the local or national political system may also require L2 literacy. These motivational factors vary with the degree of isolation in which the L1-speaking group lives.

3. L2–L1 transition

Transition literacy from L2 to L1 is somewhat more complex. Generally speaking, it assumes fluency (both oral and written) in the L2; however, the extent and manner in which L1 speakers have been exposed to the L2 (and so become "literate") cannot always be taken for granted. In cases where the L1-speaking child has had an L2 immersion-type experience in school, it is quite possible that the literacy skills acquired do not include text comprehension, simply because the child does not speak the L2 well enough at the time to acquire that skill. This situation can bring about the phenomenon of "semiliteracy," that is, when a person can identify letters, decode some words, and perhaps read orally by sounding out the text, but lacks the higher level skills of text comprehension and analysis. Indeed, semiliterates often do not even expect reading to be meaningful.

Teaching the L2 semiliterate to read in his own language can therefore be a very rewarding process, since the element missing in his ability to read the L2—language fluency—is fully present in the L1. The discovery that reading in the L1 conveys such a richness of meaning is often a delightful surprise to the new reader.

Another common result of an L2–L1 transition program is an increase in the prestige accorded to the L1. L1 speakers in situations of intense L2 language and culture contact often disparage their backgrounds, having acquired the idea from the L2 society that their mother tongue is impossible to read or write. Since in these cases the L1 is seldom used in formal education, there is the tendency to consider the language—and by extension, the associated culture and its people—as less valuable than the L2. Development of an orthography, literature, and a readership in the L1 challenges the attitude which downgrades the L1 as "not a worthy language."

L2–L1 transition literacy instruction is a strategy widely used by SIL and its affiliates in many areas of sub-Saharan Africa, including Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Zaire, Ethiopia, and Kenya, among other countries. As a way to establish L1 literacy relatively quickly, L2–L1 programs are usually more immediately productive than traditional L1 literacy programs. Because the target population is usually more educated and is at least semiliterate already, much less remains to be taught. Transition programs of this kind have been found to be very useful for developing mother tongue authors, finding teachers for subsequent L1 literacy instruction programs, and raising awareness of the possibility of L1 literacy among the general population.

The remainder of this article focuses on L2–L1 transition materials and instruction, giving examples from several programs sponsored by SIL entities or their affiliates in Africa.

4. The L2–L1 transition program

L2–L1 literacy instruction can take many forms, from a simple oral or written description of the differences between the two written languages, to a full course complete with instructor and textbook. In actual practice, the overall L2–L1 transition program for a people group may include several strategies for various target groups.

The simplest type of organized transition program consists in making and distributing a chart or booklet of the L1 alphabet. Such a publication may also include short explanations of specific L1 letters or letter combinations which are either not found in the L2 or else have different values in the two languages. The chart or booklet is distributed among the target audience in some way and may be accompanied by a short orientation session with those who are already L2 literate. This kind of strategy works well when the target audience is highly literate in the L2 and needs minimal orientation to assimilate the information presented. One drawback to using this strategy exclusively is that the results can be difficult to track due to its lack of formal instruction. In addition, there is no opportunity offered to practice the new letters.

A more elaborate strategy incorporates the alphabet chart into a larger book, including such activities as practice drills and reading practice in L1. A publication like this can be distributed as is, although it is generally preferable to devise some sort of orientation or training session for the target audience. One advantage of training sessions is that they allow the program leader to see how easily and effectively the materials convey the desired information. Based on such observation, materials can be constructed and modified to optimally match each target audience. Orientation or training sessions can last from a few hours to several days, depending on how quickly the audience learns. This kind of strategy assumes that the L2 reader is not likely to internalize L2 versus L1 differences or become a fluent L1 reader on his or her own, but he will need some personal instruction to reach this goal.

The most elaborate transition literacy program includes a transition primer, follow-up materials, teachers trained in transition literacy instruction, and regularly scheduled classes. A program like this is most useful in an area where large numbers of marginally literate or semiliterate L2 readers want to learn to read their mother tongue. Large scale transition literacy programs can do a great deal to enhance the prestige of the L1 in a community.

Different target audiences require different strategies for L2–L1 transition to be accomplished. An overall transition literacy program may use several different options simultaneously to reach its goal. Transition literacy instruction may form part of larger-scale programs of teacher training, writer training, instruction in practical math and accounting, local leadership development, and even university instruction.

5. Transition materials

The content of L2–L1 transition literacy materials varies widely with the languages and audiences involved. However, the following items generally need to be covered in a complete transition primer:

(a) "new" letters (found in L1 but not L2; can include long vowels);

(b) letters whose shape is the same in both languages, but whose value is different in the two;

(c) unfamiliar letter combinations (e.g. digraphs);

(d) tone markings or other diacritics, in the cases where L1 has them but L2 does not;

(e) syllable patterns found in L1 which are not found in L2.

Some transition materials also teach some of the more important morphemes in the language, especially those which are prefixes or suffixes. In addition, practice reading material in L1 should to be provided. It is preferable that initial L1 reading material be relatively easy if possible (in terms of such criteria as word length, syllable structure, and complexity of content), and that it also be natural in style and content to the L1 culture. Later L1 reading material need not be restricted in its content, complexity, or style.

The elaborateness of transition materials required for a given language depends on several factors: its orthographic complexity, the degree of orthographic and phonological similarity between L2 and L1, the level of education of the target audience, and the extent to which the orthography of L1 reflects accurately the phonology of the language. Underdifferentiated or overdifferentiated orthographies can be very difficult to read, for L2 literates as well as new readers.

One important orthographic factor in the elaborateness required of transition materials concerns the script(s) used by L1 and L2. In most areas of sub-Saharan Africa, indigenous languages have been reduced to writing using the script of the local LWC. This certainly facilitates transition between the two. However in Ethiopia, where Ethiopic script (used in Amharic, for many years the official language of education and government) has been the LWC model for other minority languages, educators and minority language speakers today find themselves in a dilemma. The current national government is committed to developing education and literature in the various minority languages of the country, and minority ethnic groups are being encouraged to choose either Ethiopic or Roman script for this development. For various political and social reasons, some groups are choosing Roman script for the further development of their languages. This choice clearly has ramifications for the many Amharic literates, who know Ethiopic script (actually a syllabary) but not Roman script. These literates, often quite educated, are reduced to virtual illiteracy in their own languages. For such people, some kind of transition materials will be needed not only from Amharic to L1 literacy, but from Ethiopic to Roman script literacy. For groups which choose to develop their languages in Ethiopic script, transition from Amharic will be significantly easier.

6. Examples of L2–L1 transition materials in Africa

A wide variety of L2–L1 transition materials are currently in use in Africa, some examples of which are mentioned here. These examples demonstrate the flexibility of the genre, as well as the different target audiences and topics covered.

6.1 The alphabet chart

The alphabet chart may seem like a trivial bit of reading, but in fact it is quite important to an L2–L1 literacy program for two reasons. One reason is that such a chart signals the establishment of an orthography in L1, no small advance for a previously unwritten language. The other reason is that often the alphabet chart is the first clear indication to the L1-speaking population that their mother tongue can in fact be written; this is a revelation to educated and uneducated L1 speakers alike.

For this reason, an alphabet chart may be the first piece of transition literacy material to be produced. This has been the case in the Kibudu transition literacy program of northeastern Zaire. Published by the *Projet de Traduction de la Bible* in 1990, the 11″ by 14″ chart is printed on colored card stock and features the nine vowels and thirty-two consonants in the Kibudu orthography. Each letter is presented in a box with a picturable word beginning with that letter; the word is pictured in a small sketch. Most alphabet charts follow this same pattern, varying in size according to the intended use of the charts (larger sizes for use in classrooms; smaller sizes for wide-scale distribution).

Some alphabet charts in fact become alphabet booklets with each letter and picture featured on a page or half-page. These booklets may be complete as such, or they may include some easy reading practice in L1 at the end. *L'alphabet Ife*, published by the *Equipe Ife* of SIL in Togo is such a booklet. Alphabet booklets are often very popular as an early L1 publication.

6.2 The self-teaching primer

The goal of self-teaching transition materials is to avoid the necessity of organized classroom instruction. Self-teaching materials should be tailored carefully to the intended audience so as to require minimum explanation. For the less sophisticated L2 reader, it is best to avoid using the L2 extensively in the primer and to avoid technical or linguistic vocabulary. Extensive use of pictures and familiar topics in the primer is recommended. These materials may be introduced to a population by means of orientation or training sessions, but the sessions would probably not extend to organized, multi-meeting courses or trained teachers.

One example of materials which could be used without a teacher is *Kusoma Chiduruma na T'adize* (Reading Duruma and its Proverbs), prepared for the Duruma people of eastern Kenya who already read Swahili (the LWC of the area). The primer, published in 1988 by the Kenyan organization, Bible Translation and Literacy, has three parts. The Duruma alphabet is presented first with small pictures and key words accompanying each of the thirty-six letters. The nine Duruma letters which are not in the Swahili alphabet are listed on the opposite page. The next twenty pages of the primer teach these nine new letters, primarily by contrasting them with known Swahili letters which are similar in shape (e.g. teaching <t'> by contrasting it with <t>). Pictures of key words, lists of Duruma words beginning with the two contrastive letters, and sentences using the new letter are used in each lesson. The final section of the book consists of thirty Duruma proverbs presented as reading practice for the new L1 reader. Virtually no Swahili is used in the entire book, although its construction is based on the assumption of at least some level of fluency in reading Swahili.

The *Cours de Lecture Ife*, written for the Ife people of Togo, is another interesting example of such materials. Included are the fifteen "new" Ife letters, treatment of tone and nasalization, and practice of a few key morphemes. The lessons contain pictures of key words, syllable drills, and extensive reading practice in Ife.

Self-teaching materials of this kind seem to work best when L1 and L2 are not too different from each other (as is the case with Duruma and Swahili, both of which are Bantu languages). When a limited number of new letters are the primary difference between the two orthographies, L2–L1 transition is at its easiest. On the other hand, when tone markings; letters with different values, or large numbers of new letter and digraphs are involved, better success is usually found in a more structured instructional setting.

6.3 Transition primers for class use

As already mentioned, a more elaborate transition literacy program often includes regularly scheduled classes with a transition primer and trained instructors. A program like this is most useful for a target audience which is numerous and is comprised of marginally literate or semiliterate L2 readers. The transition primer used in this context can be as slowly paced as necessary and can include minimal L2 explanation in the text.

Such programs usually also make use of teacher training materials or a teacher's guide for the transition primer. The teacher's guide gives directions for teaching the transition primer lesson by lesson, and it usually assumes that the teacher has a fair degree of L2 fluency.

Examples of a transition primer and teacher's guide can be found in the transition program currently operating among the Mangbetu of northeastern Zaire. The primer, *AmaabhX Nemangbetu* (First Mangbetu Reader), and its accompanying teacher's guide, were prepared by members of the Zairian organization *Projet de Traduction Biblique en Dialectes Mangbetu* in the late 1980's and early 1990's. The primer begins with a review of the letters common to both Mangbetu and Bangala (the LWC for this area). Subsequent lessons are dedicated to teaching tone marking, new letters (including digraphs and trigraphs), and the particular use of some letters for grammatical purposes in Mangbetu. Extensive use is made of syllable and sentence drills and practice reading. Each lesson generally contains one descriptive picture as well. The primer finishes with a story in Mangbetu and a two-page presentation of the entire forty-four letter Mangbetu alphabet.

The teacher's guide to this primer is written in Bangala and gives step-by-step directions for teaching each lesson. The guide uses a limited amount of linguistic and technical terminology to describe certain grammatical features of the language. Content questions concerning the final story in the primer are included in the guide as well.

Another interesting example of transition materials which are used in formal classes is the set of primers developed for the Ngiti language of Zaire. Published by the *Projet de Traduction Ndruna (Ngiti)* in 1993, this set of materials has several features which reflect the unique nature of Ngiti language and orthography. The most salient is its treatment of tone. Ngiti has four tones, three of which are marked orthographically (French and Swahili, the LWCs in the area, have none). Since tone carries a high functional load in Ngiti, this is the first topic taught in the primer series. The SIL literacy consultant to the project considers that the Ngiti L2 reader needs a thorough understanding of how tone is written in his mother tongue before attempting to master other aspects of Ngiti writing. In addition, the entire third volume of the series is devoted to the more complex grammatical and lexical uses of tone. The goal of this volume is to raise the Ngiti reader's awareness of the functions of tone in his language. Clearly these materials go beyond merely describing orthographic differences between L1 and L2. Other features contained in the Ngiti transition primer series are the letters which are used in L1 but not in the LWCs of the area; these include several vowels and a number of digraphs and trigraphs.

The primary technique used to teach all of these lessons is contrast. Nothing new is presented in isolation, but rather it is presented in contrast to something known. The lessons are structured similarly throughout the series in order to make teaching easier. Syllable and word drills, reading practice, and some pictures make up each lesson. (The first book has far more pictures than the second; the last book has none.) Teaching the series has proven to take about twenty hours of class instruction for Swahili literates. This is quite a bit, compared to other languages which can get by with an hour or two of orientation, and it indicates something of the complexity of the Ngiti orthography compared to those of the LWCs.

Some L2–L1 transition materials are suitable either for use in a classroom or by individuals. One example is the *Manuel pour Lire et Ecrire la Langue Ngyemboon*, written for the Ngyemboon language of Cameroon. The transition primer presents the new letters and tonal markings, and it reinforces learning with sentence translation exercises, fill-in-the-blank exercises, and copious amounts of practice reading in Ngyemboon. Some French is used for explanations but little technical linguistic vocabulary is utilized. The clear layout and large number of exercises in each lesson make this a good self-teaching book, although it could easily be adapted to classroom use as well.

6.4 The spelling or writing guide

Guides to writing L1 are generally directed at relatively well educated, fluent L2 literates. The main body of the text is usually written in L2, and technical terms are often used to explain the unique aspects of L1 writing. The writing guides nevertheless assume L1 oral fluency and may describe a letter's sound as "like in the word [L1 word]." Writing guides are not generally taught in formal classes, although they may be used as a reference help in training new L1 authors.

The spelling guide for the Bete language of Cote d'Ivoire, *Lisons le Bete*, targets Bete speakers who are fluent in written French. The guide is divided in to ten lessons; each lesson includes exercises to reinforce the material taught. Extensive use is made of French linguistic terms throughout the guide. A particularly interesting feature of this guide is its treatment of ATR[3] vowels. Bete has a set of six advanced and six retracted vowels, and the guide treats them in lessons three through five.

Another example of such a guide is *Chiirnaan Mujjunkiissa*, the Rendille Spelling Guide. This twenty-page booklet was developed at a writers' workshop held in 1989 among the Rendille people of northern Kenya and published by Bible Translation and Literacy in 1990. Topics covered include tone, vowel and consonant length, contractions, proper names, loan words, word division, clitics, postpositions, and punctuation. Fairly technical language and a sophisticated level of English (the LWC of the area) characterize the text. This publication is much more a reference work than a primer, but it does fall within the camp of "L2–L1 transition materials."

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[3] Editor's Note: ATR = ADVANCED TONGUE ROOT [+ATR]. "As its name implies, this feature is implemented by drawing the root of the tongue forward, enlarging the pharyngeal cavity and often raising the tongue body as well; [-ATR] sounds do not involve this gesture. ([+ATR] vowels such as [i, u, e, o] vs. [-ATR] vowels such as [ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, ʌ, a].)" (Halle and Clements 1983:7).

Other noteworthy spelling guides include *Je Lis Karaboro*, for the Karaboro language of Burkina Faso; *En Avant pour le Toussian*, for the Toussian language also of Burkina Faso; *Nous Lisons le Ben*, for Ben speakers of Cote d'Ivoire; and *Lisons le Wobe*, for the Wobe language of Cote d'Ivoire. All of these languages except Karaboro are tonal, and various methods are employed to reach tone and other unique characteristics of the languages in question.

Two examples of less sophisticated spelling guides are the *Manuel Pour Lire et Ecrire la Langue Kako*, written for the Kako language of Cameroon and the *Guide de Lecture Abidji*, written for the Abidji language of Cote d'Ivoire. Though these texts include extensive use of French, the presentation of the material uses less linguistic terminology and presents linguistic concepts (such as tone) in a more informal way.

7. Conclusion

Making readers literate—that is what transition literacy is all about. L1–L2 transition literacy introduces the isolated minority language speaker to a world of information and ideas outside his own culture; L2–L1 literacy restores to the L2 reader his cultural and linguistic heritage. Both have a significant role to play in literacy programs among the minority language groups of the world.

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The Summer Institute of Linguistics and Bilingual Education in Peru: Philosophy and Methods

Barbara Trudell

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Historical background

The involvement of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in bilingual education in the rain forests of Peru has consistently been one of collaboration with the Ministry of Education of the Peruvian government. The first contract between SIL and the Ministry of Education, signed in 1945, committed both parties to develop a cooperative program for investigation of the indigenous languages of Peru (*Convenio Ministerio de Educación/Instituto Lingüístico de Verano*, 28 June 1945). Since that date SIL has continued to cooperate with successive administrations as they form language policy, implement educational programs, and promote indigenous language and culture.

In earlier years of cooperation between SIL and the Ministry of Education, there was as yet little educational infrastructure in the regions of the rain forest where minority languages were spoken. Thus, SIL personnel in the rural areas found themselves heavily involved in the application of national educational policy to these language groups. As time passed, the government educational infrastructure developed, as did its effectiveness in supervising and carrying out programs.

A chronological review of the agreements between SIL and the Ministry of Education demonstrates the developing collaboration between the government and SIL in bilingual education in the rain forest. *Resolución Suprema No. 909* of 28 November 1952 authorized the establishment of training courses for indigenous literacy promoters in the Peruvian rain forest to be held in Yarinacocha (then Department of Loreto) and staffed by Peruvian and SIL education specials. In 1957 the Ministry of Education created the position of Coordinator for the pilot project in bilingual education in the rain forest, a position held by a Peruvian and salaried by the Ministry of Education (*Resolución Suprema No. 1*, 3 January 1957). In 1958, the bilingual schools in the rain forest were officially recognized and put under the supervision of the Department of Elementary Education for the Peruvian rain forest (*Decreto Supremo No. 12*, 28 April 1958). In 1964, regulations regarding the training courses for rain forest bilingual teachers were approved by the director of elementary and adult education. In *Resolución Ministerial No. 868*, of 26 February 1964, the director of the training course was authorized to award an elementary school diploma to the bilingual teachers who finished the six levels of the course. A high school program was added to the teacher training course in 1969.

With the decentralization of educational administration that took place as part of the Educational Reform Act of 1972 (*Ley General de Educación, Decreto Ley No. 19326*, March 1972), local education offices took a larger role in making and carrying out policy. The role of SIL at this point took on a more advisory character. Subsequent milestones in the development of the bilingual education program included the 1973 creation of a special department of bilingual education, the establishment in 1983 of an experimental program of post-high school training for indigenous bilingual teachers (*Resolución Ministerial No. 243-83-ED*), and the certification of that program as an official bilingual pedagogical institute in 1985 (*Decreto Supremo No. 25-85-ED*).

Thus the role of SIL in the government's rain forest bilingual education program has evolved over the years. However, though the specific characteristics of SIL's involvement have varied, two commitments have remained unchanged: close collaboration with the government educational organism and service to the indigenous groups of the Peruvian rain forest.

The article that follows examines SIL's philosophy of bilingual education as it has developed in the last forty-nine years of field work among Peru's rain forest ethnic groups. Topics discussed include the underlying presuppositions that have shaped SIL's work in bilingual education, SIL's perspective on bicultural and intercultural education, and an assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of the model of bilingual education supported by SIL.

Underlying premises concerning bilingual education

The most basic premise underlying SIL's work in bilingual education is that of respect for indigenous ethnic groups. They are "born free and equal in dignity and rights" to all other human beings; they have a right to liberty, personal security, and education ("Universal Declaration of Human Rights," articles 1, 4, 26). They should not be deprived of an education by reason of their language and culture; rather, they deserve access to culturally and linguistically appropriate education. In its collaboration with the Peruvian Ministry of Education, SIL is committed to "the development and restoration of value of indigenous languages and cultures, thus avoiding their deterioration and demise" (*Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe* 1989:11, author's translation).

The importance of the vernacular language to indigenous culture is another fundamental premise for SIL.

> Language is one of the extremely important and positive elements of a culture since it constitutes a means of communication as well as reflecting a substantial part of the culture. It is a key trait for the preservation of group unity and sense of identity for the individual. Therefore, the fact that his language is considered worthy to be used in education and his oral cultural heritage is worthy of being preserved and propagated through the written word contributes to his expectations, his personal dignity, and his self-esteem. When those who have just become literate discover they can express themselves in writing, they not only have a means of achieving fulfillment and self-identification, but they also have the satisfaction of contributing to the preservation of their cultural values by putting their stories and traditions into written form (Loos, Davis, and Wise 1981:364).

At the same time, SIL recognizes that contact between indigenous cultures and the national culture is inevitable. In over forty years of working in indigenous communities throughout the Peruvian rain forest, SIL has seen in nearly every indigenous language group the results of contact with national society—most of that contact having its beginning in the early part of this century or earlier, well before the arrival of SIL personnel to work among these groups. This early contact has nearly always been detrimental to the indigenous cultures: conquerors, colonists, and seekers of the rain forest's natural resources have enslaved, exploited, sold, and massacred the indigenous people they found there. One Aguaruna leader recalls early contact with outsiders below.

> Exploitation was perhaps an inevitable consequence of contact between two groups with such diverse goals and lifestyles. It began when the Spanish-speaking outsiders told the Aguaruna that the land where they lived did not belong to them but to the "State." They used this as their justification for coming to work the land. They brought many things with them—guns, shells, cloth, mirrors, etc.—things which really impressed the Aguaruna. The outsiders showed them the use of these articles and offered to trade with them for raw rubber, hides and other produce. Some Aguaruna agreed and accepted the trade goods, promising to bring rubber. Now at this time the Aguaruna were illiterate and did not know how to keep accounts. Thus, little by little the whole Aguaruna society fell under the power of the Spanish-speaking *patrónes*[1] because the Aguaruna went into debt to them (Wipio Deicat 1981:70).

Ongoing contact with *mestizo*[2] culture continues to be a part of life for most indigenous groups in the rain forest. They must regularly deal with Spanish-speaking *patrónes*, attempt to secure land titles and other rights for their communities, and engage in commercial interaction with *mestizos*.

In addition, people often (and understandably) want their children to gain the economic, social, and language skills available in *mestizo* society. They do not want to die from epidemics or be endlessly exploited by the legal maneuverings of others. SIL believes that each indigenous group has a right to such cultural self-determination and should not be denied the chance to develop in the name of cultural purity.

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[1] The translation for *patrónes* is "bosses."

[2] The translation for *mestizo* is "a person of ethnically- and culturally-mixed heritage."

The language groups of the Peruvian rain forest thus find themselves in a situation common to the world's linguistic minorities.

> Since most speakers of minority languages have to become bilingual if they wish to retain their own culture and to have some extensive part in the life of the larger community, it is easy to understand that most bilinguals in the world are bilingual because they are **forced** to be. Most minority languages have not the same status, the same official rights as the corresponding majority languages; many of the minority languages are discriminated against and their speakers are oppressed, both politically and economically and also linguistically. Bilingualism is for them not something voluntary but is forced upon them if they are to survive in the majority community (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:74–75).

Such contact with Spanish language and culture carries with it an additional danger into which some ethnic groups have fallen almost irretrievably: the rejection of their indigenous culture and language, based on the scorn they receive at the hands of *mestizo* society.

As an organization SIL is committed to the preservation of indigenous language and culture. Evidence of this commitment is the importance the organization gives to publishing linguistic analyses, dictionaries, folklore and anthropological studies, and culturally relevant literacy and reading material in each language of the rain forest. However, SIL considers that the ideal of "the untouched indigenous culture" does not reflect reality for these groups. SIL policy is to neither withhold nor force change.

> SIL members believe that in each case the help given to an ethnic group should be in response to needs felt and expressed by the group itself. Rather than imposing projects upon them, then, SIL works along with them so that their aspirations might be fulfilled (Loos, Davis, and Wise 1981:375).

Such respect for the self-determination of an ethnic group is enhanced when they are offered **alternatives**: options such as staying peacefully in their community and culture and dealing with national society in whatever measure necessary or an option involving some aspects of the national culture, such as higher education, when the indigenous community considers this to be to its advantage. These alternatives can be realized through bilingual education, as well as through the translation of important documents such as the Peruvian Constitution, the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," and the Bible.

Bilingual education and society

SIL's perspective on bilingual education incorporates elements from two distinct theories or "paradigms" of bilingual education described in current literature: the equilibrium paradigm and the conflict paradigm (Paulston 1978).

The equilibrium paradigm holds that the problem inherent in minority education is that the educational environment does not provide equal opportunity for those who are not of the majority language and culture. This paradigm emphasizes the relationship between language and cognition and thus the need for children to learn in the language they know best. The long range goal of the equilibrium model is "harmonious integration into the larger society by equalizing opportunity" (ibid.: 238).

This paradigm reflects certain of SIL's perspectives as well. From the beginning of its work in Peruvian minority education, SIL has recognized the disadvantage that the indigenous child faces in the Spanish-speaking classroom. Yet indigenous children are as capable of learning as *mestizo* children, and when they are taught in a language they understand, they learn as quickly and as well as anyone.

However, SIL's departure from the equilibrium paradigm lies in the fact that the majority of bilingual education programs utilizing it are transitional bilingual education programs; that is, they use "the student's indigenous language to teach subject matter until he or she achieves [official language] proficiency" (Garcia and Padilla 1985:291). The principal goal of transitional bilingual education is the redistribution of opportunities to offset past discriminatory practices, but little concern is expressed for maintenance of the minority language or culture. A number of bilingual education programs developed in the United States in the last two decades are a good example of this type of transitional bilingual education, where transition to English proficiency is the goal of minority children's early school years; maintenance of their indigenous language and culture is largely disregarded.

It is at this point that SIL's philosophy of bilingual education diverges from the equilibrium paradigm and finds parallels in the conflict paradigm which emphasizes the importance of social factors in minority education. According to conflict theorists, unequal education opportunities are not related as much to the failure of schools as to social inequality.

From a conflict perspective, social factors influence the success or failure of education; therefore, the context of learning becomes just as important a factor in the classroom as the choice of language used (Paulston 1978:244). A minority child in a majority group cultural context lacks a complete understanding of that culture. When this occurs in a non-bilingual classroom, the result for the minority student is conflict and interference in learning. The foreign culture complicates and obstructs the learning experience, even if the school itself is located in the indigenous community. When the school is actually located outside the student's community, interference in learning is even greater. The bilingual classroom, led by a indigenous bilingual teacher, however, diminishes such interference and conflict for the student.

The conflict paradigm, and its companion theory of cultural revival and social movement, favors language maintenance and even language revival programs. The goal of these programs is to use the mother tongue to reinforce the ethnic cohesiveness of the group. The official language is viewed merely as a technical tool for job preparation, while the mother tongue becomes the vehicle of moral learning and reaffirmation of the solidarity and uniqueness of the ethnic group (ibid.: 252).

The SIL perspective borrows certain elements from the conflict/cultural revival paradigm. Social inequality, economic oppression, and even cultural disintegration are tragic but all too common aspects of life in many indigenous communities. SIL does not consider that education alone will solve these grave problems of the indigenous person, but a minority educational program that emphasizes language maintenance and cultural appreciation can help offset the negative effects of cultural imperialism, social conflict, and economic exploitation.

This is also the source of SIL's strong support for assigning indigenous bilingual teachers to staff the schools in indigenous communities. Not only do these teachers share a mother tongue with the students, but they are also part of the indigenous community culture. The student experiences little conflict or interference in such a classroom, and learning is thus facilitated socially as well as linguistically. As a Bora teacher put it, "Since we have grown up in the indigenous community and actually live there, we are completely familiar with the environment and can do the job best" (Gerardo del Aguila Miveco 1989, author's translation).

Thus, SIL's perspective demonstrates aspects of more than one model of bilingual education. The equilibrium model reflects SIL's appreciation of the need for early education in the vernacular and the need to aim for some kind of harmonious interaction with the non-indigenous, Spanish-speaking world. The conflict paradigm reflects our awareness of the deep social and economic needs underlying the educational disadvantage of the indigenous child. And the theory of cultural revival reflects our emphasis on the need to surround the student with a context he understands and a indigenous teacher who communicates cultural values as well as subject matter.

Bilingualism

From the above information, it could be inferred that the mother tongue is really only useful for values-oriented material taught in school and that Spanish may still be relied on for the academic subjects. However, recent research into bilingualism and cognition indicates that this is not a correct assumption; instead this research supports the use of the mother tongue in teaching subject matter as well as cultural values.

According to Baker (1988), current theories of bilingualism hold that the cognitive processes involved in language are the same for both the mother tongue and a second language. Children who learn a second language do not damage their ability to retain their mother tongue; indeed, their ability to process language may develop beyond that of monolingual children.

However, Baker goes on to state that learning can be negatively affected if children are forced to operate in a second language where they have as yet little proficiency. If children are made to use a poorly developed second language in school, the quality and quantity of what they take in will be impoverished. He further warns that "children with some conversational ability in a second language may **appear** ready to be taught through their second language," but that such children in fact may not be ready for such teaching; they may "fail to understand meanings and be unable to engage in higher-order processes such as synthesis, discussion analysis, evaluation and interpretation" (Baker 1988:179).

This failure to learn is evident in certain indigenous communities where some classes are taught by monolingual Spanish-speaking teachers. Because the indigenous students can carry on conversation with him or her in Spanish, the *mestizo* teacher concludes that Spanish may safely be used as the sole medium of instruction. He or she is then frustrated to find that students do not learn. Meanwhile, in the same community, a indigenous bilingual teacher is successfully teaching students of another class in their mother tongue. It is evident that the children's failure to learn in Spanish is not related to their intelligence but rather to the extent to which their ability in Spanish has developed.

Baker's findings form a strong argument for an education which is firmly based in mother tongue instruction for several years, which incorporates Spanish as a second language as a subject for the student, and which is taught by a indigenous bilingual teacher who is able to help the children develop their cognitive skills in their mother tongue and also to bring them to a level of Spanish sufficient for learning in that language as well.

The intercultural aspect of bilingual education

Recent work in bilingual education design has tended to emphasize the cultural aspect of bilingual education programs, applying the terms BICULTURAL and INTERCULTURAL variously according to criteria of the researchers. In her study of bilingual education in Latin America, Utta von Gleich describes bilingual/bicultural education as "it presupposes, besides the use of two languages in the educational process, a systematic curricular treatment of the two cultures in contact" (1987:51, author's translation). The goal of bilingual/bicultural education is that the students learn to understand a language and culture other than their own. In this way, they may accept and be secure with the second culture, even as pride in their own culture is strengthened.

Bilingual/intercultural education, according to von Gleich is a term largely synonymous with bilingual/bicultural education, especially as it applies to multilingual societies. Peru's status as a multilingual, multicultural society suggests that bilingual/intercultural education is the most appropriate way to describe the policy and programs necessary to meet the nation's educational needs.

The National Directorate of Bilingual Education of the Ministry of Education (DIGEBIL) describes bilingual/intercultural education as that which "besides forming bilingual individuals with strong communicative ability in their mother tongue and in Spanish, facilitates identification with their indigenous cultures and an understanding of other minority and majority culture ... With this kind of education, we seek to compare various possibilities, understand and promote pride in the pupil's own culture, and help the pupil orient himself among other cultures with assurance and self-confidence" *(Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe* 1989:11, author's translation). As an entity that operates in close collaboration with the Peruvian Ministry of Education, SIL accepts and works within the model of bilingual/intercultural education as defined above. This definition also reflects SIL's commitment to providing alternatives to the indigenous person of every minority culture of the rain forest, allowing him to interact confidently with the national society in whatever measure he wishes to.

However, while supporting these educational alternatives for increased knowledge of national culture, SIL also recognizes that for most of the rain forest cultures, the danger of being assimilated into the surrounding national society, and so lost, is very serious. Skutnabb-Kangas, in discussing minority languages, makes the following statement.

> The position of minority languages is under threat throughout the world, even in countries where many of them are recognized officially or semi-officially.... Those linguistic groups are in a very difficult position whose only support is from a non-standardized language ... or from a vernacular in another country. Linguistic groups, however, having no written tradition, found only in one country, and lacking the support of speakers in another country, are the most threatened of all. This is the case with many Amerindian languages in the United States, Canada, and Latin America, . as also with many small languages in Africa and Asia. Attitudes towards these languages and linguistic groups may range from attempts to equip them with alphabets, to record them, describe them and provide the most elementary reading materials ... on the one hand, to attempts at total eradication on the other (1981:71, 74).

Because of their tenuous, unstable position, these minority language groups in the Peruvian rain forest need strong support of their language and culture in the face of an encroaching national society.

For this reason, SIL concentrates most of its attention on the vernacular aspect of bilingual education rather than on the aspect of second culture. Vernacular languages and ethnic groups are the area of expertise of its personnel, and it is in precisely this area that SIL can complement the Peruvian government education program. As a part of SIL's support of the Ministry of Education in their bilingual education program, it provides vernacular reading material and helps indigenous bilingual teachers to apply principles of good teaching in the indigenous communities. SIL facilitates many aspects of the Ministry of Education's bilingual/intercultural education program but is especially committed to vernacular literature and high quality training for bilingual teachers.

An assessment of bilingual education

An honest assessment of bilingual education reveals that, no matter which model it follows, it is not by itself the solution to all the social, economic, political, and educational needs of the indigenous people of Peru. Bilingual education alone cannot establish cultural stability or achieve healthy interaction between indigenous and national cultures. Bilingual education is only a tool. However, SIL holds that the maintenance-oriented, bilingual/intercultural education program described in this paper has been shown to be a very useful tool in helping to solidify cultural self-esteem and in passing that self-esteem on to the future generations of autochthonous people.

In comparing this model of bilingual education with the monolingual alternatives—in either the indigenous language or the national language—many important advantages for the indigenous person are evident. Culturally, the advantages of bilingual education over monolingual Spanish education are that it promotes stronger unity within the indigenous group, permitting less cultural and linguistic domination by outsiders and that it helps to raise the prestige of the indigenous language and culture, thus helping to raise the personal sense of worth as well. As Sánchez Garrafa remarks, "The use of the vernacular language in the educational process constitutes a concrete measure in the restoration of its value and is therefore a psychological stimulus for the vernacular-speaking population in improving their self-concept or sense of self-worth" (1983:41, author's translation). The indigenous communities and bilingual teachers themselves are very aware of these cultural advantages of bilingual education. In the experience of one Shipibo teacher, bilingual education "has been an educational awakening for the children, because it has taught them to appreciate their language, culture and customs" (Wipio Deicat 1989a, author's translation). An Asheninca teacher agrees that through the bilingual education program "cultures have been seen to have worth, and what was lost was redeemed; and there are good relationships between parents, students and the teacher" (ibid.). SIL personnel have observed that indigenous groups which are becoming more aware of the value of their cultural heritage frequently request more bilingual schools as a part of this cultural reawakening.

Pedagogical advantages of bilingual education over monolingual Spanish education include both the aspect of psychological adjustment of students and the greater ease of learning subject matter presented in their mother tongue. Engle discusses the advantages of using the vernacular for initial instruction "because the child can understand what is being said, he will be more likely to succeed and therefore develop a sense of being successful in school" (1975:4). In addition, the child who learns how to learn—that is, who develops the higher-order cognitive processes necessary for analysis, evaluation, interpretation—in his own language forms a strong basis on which to build the rest of his education (Baker 1988:179).

The bicultural aspects of bilingual education give it an advantage over monolingual vernacular education. Indigenous parents generally want their children to learn Spanish in order to communicate effectively with members of the national culture; indeed, such ability may be the primary reason they want education for their children. The situation Wipio Deicat describes in the following excerpt about the early decision of the Aguaruna to seek education is still a strong motivator for indigenous people.

> [The *patrónes*] had books in which they listed all the things which they gave to the Aguaruna. However, when an Aguaruna brought his product, they would fail to mark down his credit.... Because of all these problems, some Aguaruna began thinking about studying. They realized that if they learned to read and write and speak Spanish, they could claim their rights and sell their products without anyone deceiving them (1981:70, 73).

For this reason, a monolingual vernacular education program would be widely unpopular and even resented by indigenous people in the rain forest.

Bicultural or intercultural education also gives the student a wider world view allowing him to compare his culture with others and choose how he will live. According to the DIGEBIL, one function of bilingual/intercultural education is that it "helps the pupil to see elements from other cultures which could make a valuable contribution to his quality of life and that of his community, thus enriching his own culture" (DIGEBIL 1989:11, author's translation).

Still, bilingual education is not as easily implemented as monolingual education (in particular monolingual Spanish education). The bilingual classroom requires special teachers and special materials and is more costly to implement than its monolingual counterparts.

The indigenous bilingual teacher is the key to successful bilingual education, and this position requires a person with special background, abilities, and training beyond those of the usual school teacher. He must be an accepted member of his community, be fluent in the language of the community, and have a working knowledge of Spanish. He must also be trained in bilingual pedagogy and the use of the bilingual textbooks available. He must have a strong commitment to helping his language group progress, even as it preserves its language and culture. As one Piro woman expressed it, "A good bilingual teacher teaches the students well and is concerned for the welfare of the community" (Wipio Deicat 1989b, author's translation).

In Wipio Deicat's anonymous survey of indigenous bilingual teachers, many of the bilingual teachers presently serving their communities do in fact have such commitment to their work. One Shipibo teacher expressed concern that "my friends and my students don't forget or neglect their culture." Another explains that "both languages are important; we need to be proud." A Cashinahua teacher considers bilingual education a necessity "in order to understand each other and also those who speak Spanish" (Wipio Deicat 1989a, author's translation). These attitudes are a necessary attribute of the competent indigenous bilingual teacher.

Another special requirement of this kind of bilingual education is extra time spent in class. The subject of "language arts" is divided in the bilingual curriculum into "mother tongue" and "Spanish as a second language," each of which requires one hour of class per day. So the bilingual school day is an hour longer in order to ensure sufficient time for teaching both first and second languages.

Finally, the bilingual education program is more expensive to run than monolingual Spanish education. Each indigenous language needs materials sufficient for initial reading instruction, advanced reading practice, and additional instruction in such subjects as

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The Impact of Literacy on Women and Development: Case Studies from South Asia

Julie Sands

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In recent years there has been much research on the impact of literacy on women's lives and how literate women can contribute to development. Though there has been a concerted effort by the United Nations and other international nongovernment organizations to improve the economic and social position of women in general and women in developing countries specifically; the situation is still open for improvement. This article will give a general world overview of how nations have responded to the unequal treatment of women, especially in the area of education, and how women's literacy has an impact on development, with a specific focus on South Asia.

1. Global situation: facts and figures

1.1 The literacy gap

In 1990 there were 948 million illiterates (fifteen years old and over) in the world: 699 million are in the continent of Asia, 177 million in Africa, 50 million in the Americas, 19 million in Europe and the former USSR, and 1 million in Oceania. Of those people, 917 million live in developing countries (97% of the world's illiterate population), and a relatively insignificant number, 32 million (3%) in developed or industrialized countries (Ballara 1991:4).

1.2 Gender disparities

Statistics for developing countries for 1990 show that 45% of the female population of developing countries is illiterate; in the least developed countries this figure rises to 79% of adult women. In

Africa, 64% of women cannot read and write. In absolute numbers, the vast majority of women who cannot read and write is concentrated in Asia; illiterate women in this region alone account for over 77% of the world total (Ballara 1991:6). Sixty-seven percent of the worlds illiterate adults are women. In Nepal the illiteracy rate for men is 62.4% and for women is 86.8%, with an overall rate of 74.4%. In sixteen developing countries primary school enrollment for girls is two-thirds lower than for boys. In seventeen countries the secondary school enrollment for girls is half that of boys enrollment (World Education Report, 1993:27).

1.3 Urban/rural disparities

The UNESCO statistics comparing urban and rural areas (percent) shows that the rate of illiterate women in the rural areas is higher than that of urban women. For example, in Nepal female illiteracy in urban areas is 46.5% while for rural regions it is 85.2%; male illiteracy rates for urban and rural areas are 27% and 53.8% respectively (Ballara 1991:7).

2. The global response

Between 1975 and 1985 the United Nations adopted an action plan for the newly designated Decade of Women. Equality, development, and peace were declared the basic principles for the implementation of women's programs with special reference to equality of opportunities in education. However, the Decade of Women only partially achieved its aims.

In 1985 a world conference was held in Nairobi, Kenya to review and appraise the achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women. From this conference three sub-themes were highlighted: employment, health, and education, with education being seen as the basis for the promotion and improvement of women's status and a tool to support their role as equal partners in society.

In the 1980s UNESCO, in cooperation with its member states and other international nongovernment organizations (NGO's), implemented a special program titled Equal Opportunities in Education for Women and Girls. Its main objectives are the promotion of the equality of women and the increase of women's participation in development in the interests of justice and peace. Proposals within the equal opportunities program suggested that literacy projects (which include knowledge in areas such as health and agriculture) and employment can play an important role in promoting development and in improving women's quality of life (Ballara 1991:ix–x).

For any of the above programs and objectives to be successful in bringing about lasting change in raising the status of women and girls one must consider the links between the condition and the position of women. One writer considers the CONDITION OF WOMEN encompasses the material state in which women find themselves: their poverty, their lack of education and training, their excessive work burdens, and their lack of access to modern technology, improved tools, and work-related skills. The POSITION OF WOMEN refers to their social and economic standing in comparison to men. When these aspects are taken into account, short and long-term needs and goals can be defined. This in turn leads to the defining of policies and strategies that can contribute to improving women's situations and their contribution on development (Ballara 1991:x).

3. Women's literacy: a development priority

There are many social, economic, and cultural reasons which justify special action to make literacy for women and girls a high priority. Acquisition of knowledge is one of the prerequisites for human development. Literacy and postliteracy activities specifically for women in a single educational process provide for women's participation in sustainable development under equal conditions and with equal benefits; they must be available to all women in order to enhance their individual, economic, political, social, and cultural development (Ballara 1991:xi).

In order to achieve this, the United Nations (UN) initiated a world movement to promote literacy and proclaimed 1990 as International Literacy Year, its aim being to mobilize and inform the public. UNESCO proposed a plan of action for the eradication of illiteracy by the year 2000 and organized with other UN agencies a world conference on "Education for All."

4. The effects of literacy on women and development

In Nepal, boys are sent to school; girls are kept at home to help with chores and field work. The adult literacy rate is a low 39% for men and only 12% for women. Village literacy classes are filled with women seeking intellectual relief from their hard labor. Most simply say, "I have come to have my eyes opened." Life in the hill villages is a never-ending round of hard labor in the fields, child-rearing, and serving in the home. The incentives for these women to start learning are resentment and curiosity.

Introducing literacy to a community should be accomplished through assessing and meeting the felt needs of the people. In Nepal, the government responded to this proposal by first recognizing the immense illiteracy problem, and then they assigned each nongovernment organization in the country a set location in which to work in order to make the people in that area literate by the year 2,000. The United Mission to Nepal, was designated the area of Jajarkot in Western Nepal. This section of the article will look at areas of basic need for women and the communities they serve. Case studies which follow are from an interview with Jessie Glover, a literacy consultant in South Asia from 1990 to 1993.

4.1 Health

Studies in several developing countries have shown that women's education plays an important role in reducing infant mortality, increasing the life expectancy of future generations, and improving child rearing and development. "The State of the World Population" (UNESCO 1990b) reported in the results of a study carried out in forty-six countries that a one percent increase in women's literacy rate is three times more effective in reducing infant mortality than a one percent increase in the number of doctors. More knowledge and understanding of hygiene, child and mother nutrition (especially during pregnancy), control and prevention of diseases (whether these are chronic or transmittable), general health practices, and child care will enable mothers to improve their own health, as well as that of their babies, their families, and their communities (Ballara 1991:33).

Case study 1

> One night while I was visiting a class, they actually put on a drama for me that they had written themselves. It was a drama about two women who had sick children—both the children had diarrhea. The first woman took her child along to the traditional medicine man. He blew on it and puffed, and advised the mother not to give the baby any fluids. And of course that baby died. The other mother with the sick child was told by the women to take him along to the witch doctor. Then along came the health worker who said, "What's wrong?" The health worker said, "There is something else you can do as well," and she told them about the oral rehydration solution which she then made for them and fed to the baby, and the baby got better. These were the women themselves showing the old ways and now the new way. That was an amazing illustration to me, showing that they had really seen the difference.

4.2 Education of children

Women's literacy has a positive effect on school enrollment and attendance of children. A study carried out in Mexico established that adults who completed literacy courses had more daughters with some formal education than those who had not finished their studies (Ballara 1991:14). The World Health Organization has found that a woman who has gone through an adult education class, even though she may not gain a high level of proficiency herself, has a tremendous sympathy and support for her own daughters to have that opportunity. She is also sympathetic to them taking time in doing their homework, whereas a women who has not been educated just says, "You are wasting your time!"

Case study 2

> One night we went to visit our neighbor up the road. When we got there the place was in darkness except for this tiny light from a hurricane lamp in the top story (the loft) where they sleep. I called out to Chinee

> Maya, "Have you gone to sleep?" She called out, "No! No! No! I am helping my daughter with her lessons." Chinee Maya was a new literate, but being literate herself, she was highly motivated that her daughter would also do her lessons well. Their literacy makes women very conscientious and committed to the education of the next generation; it helps them to encourage their own children in their studies. The woman who has gone through the struggle of becoming literate knows that to acquire it requires extra time.

4.3 Agriculture

Increased productivity in the agricultural sector of the work force is also linked to the educational level of rural women. Studies on the effects of education on productivity in agriculture in a number of developing countries have concluded that four years of primary education (usually considered the minimum level for retaining literacy) increased productivity by 7.4% with additional benefits due to the modernization of agriculture. Literacy helps people acquire necessary knowledge that enables them to make better use of natural resources and protect the environment; it also facilitates a change in attitudes such as a greater receptivity to "new" approaches or techniques that can encourage increased productivity (Ballara 1991:14–15).

Case study 3

> In our program we actually take the facilitators to a farm where they can see things happening, and we give them a ten-day integrated agriculture course. The facilitator then goes back and takes with him a variety of seeds for different kinds of green vegetables. They are very keen to learn those things. The women who come to the course are meeting women from other villages and are sharing ideas about their crops and animals. They share ideas of how they coped with these new things that they were learning. It is such a wonderful broadening experience for them to meet

> ladies from other villages and share one another's experiences.

4.4 Personal development

Literacy is a right to which everyone, women as well as men, should have access. Acquiring the ability to read and write enables women to increase their self-confidence, improve their self-esteem, become aware of their civil rights, improve their income-earning capabilities, and play an active role in family and community decision-making. Literacy is a means for women to participate on equal terms in the process of social development and change, therefore, literacy is a tool for women's empowerment.

Case study 4

> One night as some of the girls were walking to class they were hassled by one of the young men of the village. So when they got to the class that evening they told the teacher, and they discussed the situation and how they would deal with it. They decided that together the next day they would publicly, in broad daylight, go to the courtyard of the man's house and confront him as to what he did and that he was to never do to it again. This confrontation, in front of his own relatives, would be a rather embarrassing situation for the man. This story illustrates that they were learning to do things themselves. This isn't measurable in terms of money. But the long term effects of that kind of self awareness, the awareness of what they can do as a group, I am sure will have a ripple effect in the years to come. It is a definite empowering of the people.

4.5 Income generation

When people talk of development they automatically think of economic or income-generating activities that will help increase income and in turn help alleviate poverty. Most developing world societies restrict women's education and training, forcing them to live in narrow worlds with very few economic options and discouraging them from accumulating any resources of their own. In fact, women perform sixty-seven percent of the world's working hours; earn only ten percent of the world's income, and control or own less than one percent of the world's property (Mackenzie 1993:34). Income-generating schemes usually benefit the women quickly and directly.

Case study 5

During the first year of the class's functioning every student has to pay 5 Rupees (R5/-) for each book. There are four books in the series, requiring Rupees 20 for the whole ten-month program. All of that money is put into their own class fund so that it stays in the community. In the second year they have to pay R10/- per book. They work as a class to try and get R1,000/-, and once they reach R1,000/- our office gives them a matching R1,000/-. They then can do something with this money as an income-generating activity. Most of them wanted to buy goats. They were encouraged, however, to set up a tree plantation instead because goats are very destructive on the environment. They did this, but it was not very successful. The trees died; they were not protected very well. They used the goats and pigs (some villages purchased pigs instead of goats) for animal husbandry. They would sell the offspring. Each class had to decide how much they would give back to the fund so that the fund kept on revolving. They had to pay back to the fund everything they had borrowed initially. After that, the money was their own. That was the type of income generating they preferred. Some of them had chickens; this was so that they could sell the eggs or the chickens for meat. It is the traditional to have livestock and sell them for income generation. They also use the dung and manure for their fields.

One group, instead of buying animals with their class funds, bought a field. The produce from the field they sold to one another at a cheap rate, but the profits went back into their fund. Each class could do what they wanted with that investment. It was a very important learning experience for them as they had to do bookkeeping and manage money.

4.6 Religion

Many indigenous groups associate learning to read and write with Christianity, i.e., reading the Bible and singing the hymns in church. Some studies have found that religious reasons can play an important role in motivating adults to acquire literacy skills.

Case study 6

> Because we were working in a community composed primarily of adherents of the national religion, it was a little bit disconcerting for me to realize that some of these women were using their new found literacy skills to read their scriptures. And that was one of the reasons that they were coming to class, but I had to realize that this is one of the inevitable consequences of empowering women to read, you cannot then dictate what they will read or choose to read. One way that we added a balance to that was that in the third year, along with their craft skill development program, they from their own funds and with matching funds from our office opened a village library (which is actually a little tin trunk with about fifty books in it). Most of the books are about women's issues and, as far as possible, at a simple level of reading. The local church in Amp Pipal donated a selection of simple reading scripture books for every class library. As I went around to visit different classes, I would go around the class and ask each woman, "Which is your favorite book?" In every class there was always someone who named these Scripture materials or some of the Christian biographies that were there. These were not Christian women, they were Hindu women. I found that very encouraging.

5. Conclusion

The enormous needs of women in developing countries impress upon us the importance of and urgency in educating women so that human dignity can be restored and basic human needs can be met. The case studies exemplify the very dramatic effect and immeasurable impact that literacy has on women and their consequent contribution to development in the following areas.

1. Health. An increase in women's literacy rate reduces infant mortality, improves child and mother nutrition, and provides control and prevention of diseases.
2. Education of children. Women's literacy has a positive effect on school enrollment and attendance of children. Women who have gone through adult education class have a greater sympathy and support for their own daughters to have that opportunity.
3. Agriculture. Women's literacy increases the productivity in agriculture and enables the better use of natural resources.
4. Personal development. Women's literacy increases their self-confidence, improves their self-esteem, and enables them to become aware of their civil rights. Literacy is a tool for women's empowerment.
5. Income-generation. Women's literacy provides income-generating activities that help increase income and in turn help alleviate poverty.
6. Religion. Women's literacy enables the reading of Scripture in their own language which has resulted in permanent life changing experiences and transformation.

In every area of society, women's literacy has vital importance and immense impact on individual's lives and the lives of their communities.

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Women's Education in Developing Countries

Delle Matthews

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Women usually come off second-best when it comes to education in developing countries. The reasons are varied and specific to each community, yet there are some generalizations that can be made. This article reviews the literature on the problem and draws some conclusions for the role of SIL in improving both access to and quality of education for women.

1. The problem

In developing countries literacy rates among women are always lower than among men. Of fifty-one countries for which data was available in the 1980s fourteen had a literacy rate less than twenty percent for women, but none had a rate that low for men (Hill and King 1993:2).

This is largely due to the gender disparities in school enrollment for children. The higher dropout rate among girls as compared to boys helps to further explain low literacy rates among adult women. In 1985 the expected years of schooling for low-income countries averaged 2.7 for girls and 4.8 for boys compared to 10.2 for girls and 10.5 for boys in upper middle-income countries (Hill and King 1993:7).

This problem can be explained in part by a growing shortage of female teachers. In 1985 only one third of primary teachers, one quarter of secondary teachers, and one tenth of tertiary teachers in developing countries were women (Hill and King 1993:10).

Developing countries have been committed to the concept of education for all in recent years, however, there is evidence (Kelly 1984:83) that once universal education has been achieved for males, governments relax their attempts at achieving the same goal for females.

2. The benefits of women's education

In those countries where women's education rates are higher, families enjoy greater economic productivity, lower fertility, lower infant and maternal mortality rates, and longer life expectancy. Both the level of female education and the gender gap in education are important determinants in family well-being and economic growth of these countries (Hill and King 1993). Many of the benefits, however, are on the social level. Families may not notice these benefits, and if they do, they are less likely to attribute them to the education of their women.

A mother's educational level affects the educational attainment of her children (especially her daughters). Her education level has a greater impact than that of the father.

Although difficult to measure, it has been generally recognized that education gives women a confidence in exercising their rights within the community. Education does enable women to avert some exploitation, even if it does not bring major transformation.

3. Why women are undereducated

Much of the literature on women's education is concerned with explaining low attendance of girls in primary education. When the direct benefits to the family are lower than costs (either direct or indirect) girls are not likely to be given the opportunity of education in low-income countries. In addition there are the costs of lost work hours at home. Education generally suits the male working day and not the female one. Also, families are often concerned with the loss of training in both child care and household duties that a girl misses out on while attending school.

Fewer studies have been concerned with the lack of participation of women in non-formal education programs. When women do not see the use for education or literacy in their lives or the benefit that it will bring an increase in income, they are less likely to participate. The negative attitude of men to the education of their wives often prevents many women from attending. Then there are the practical considerations such as fatigue and weakness associated with long working days and malnutrition, child care needs, inconvenient timing of classes, and difficulty of travel to classes.

There is a prevalent misconception that a woman's role is solely in reproduction not production. In most places, however, women are involved in both, while men are involved only in production. Martin (1984:32) points out that education is concerned with productive not reproductive processes. Formal education also tends to encourage qualities of independence and self-control, characteristics for which men, not women, are usually praised. Primary education, as it is currently accomplished, may not be relevant to girls or for the expectations society has for them, because primary education usually neglects the training of skills for reproductive processes. Non-formal education programs for women have often focused solely on developing skills for women's reproductive processes, thereby erring in neglecting their productive role in society.

Education can increase women's economic productivity, but discriminatory employment practices limit the real gains women can expect from education. Wages for women are often lower than for men, and the types of occupations open to women are generally much more restricted than for men. There are no economic gains for the family from educating their girls and women if jobs are not available at the end. Low wages may have the opposite affect on girls' education when, in some cases, parents keep their girls at school longer in order to get the reward of a wage equal to their brothers.

Religion may affect female involvement in education, although the evidence is not clear. Nelson (1984:215) notes that Egyptian women enjoyed a greater rate of education in the fifteenth century before the traditional Muslim schools became popular. Street (1992:15) also claims that literacy rates for women in southeast Asia were higher than rates for men before the introduction of male-dominated religions such Buddhism and Christianity.

4. Improving female participation in education

Experience has shown that a number of strategies do help in increasing attendance and reducing dropout rates in women's education. The factors hindering access of women to education are complex and vary from community to community. Bellew and King have listed quite a few strategies and have assessed them in terms of their general success in raising attendance rates of women in education. "At this time, striving to advance women's education often means proceeding with best guesses, guided by what has worked well under similar circumstances, or by what theoretically might work" (1993:286).

Expanding access is often all that is needed to increase attendance. There simply may not be enough places for everyone, and males tend to get first option. However, expanding access only helps in a community where there is a demand for education.

Recruiting more female teachers, especially those from rural areas, has helped in some instances. Alternatives to the normal teacher's training have proved successful. By taking the training to rural areas, they have effectively eliminated the problems related to travel and housing. Girls and women do not have the mobility that men do. Elliot (1984:251) also pointed out that the teacher plays a crucial role in reducing dropout rates. The teacher must be well-liked, with strong community roots, and must not leave before the program is completed. She points out that teachers need to be well supervised and encouraged to ensure they do stay on the job.

Reducing direct costs to families by providing scholarships or waiving fees has proven successful in improving girls' school attendance in some countries. Reducing the indirect costs of the loss of their girls' time to the family has also proven helpful. A reduction in the costs of uniforms and books, however, does not significantly increase enrollment.

Two other strategies that have worked are: *a)* providing day-care centers for both women's children and the younger siblings usually taken care of by girls and *b)* alternative hours of schools or classes which begin either before or after the working day. Flexible scheduling within the school and introducing simple technologies in the home to reduce a girl's workload have not significantly increased enrollments.

Several strategies aimed at increasing the benefits of education for girls and women have been tried with mixed success. Training for technical skills that lead directly to employment has proven very successful where jobs are available at the end. When jobs are not available, this approach fails to attract women. Improving the overall quality of schools tends to benefit girls more than boys as a program increasing the number of textbooks in Peruvian schools showed (Bellew and King 1993:311). School feeding programs for girls and ensuring gender-neutral instruction have not increased enrollment of girls.

Attempts at alleviating poverty by providing realistic vocation training programs for women have been successful in Bangladesh. Elliot (1984:251) also reported that experience in India has shown that local projects run by non-governmental organizations (NGO's) which target women, particularly the current productive generation, have proven a more successful road to women's education than the formal education of girls. The National Adult Education Program had a women's attendance rate of fifty-five percent which is significantly higher than the attendance rate in formal education. Educated parents who have the ability to earn an income are more likely to encourage their girls to attend school.

McCaffery (1992:12) lists several factors to keep in mind for adult women's groups. She emphasizes the need to work within the specific local cultural and gender contexts by engaging the commitment from men within the community. The group itself must be allowed to determine the structure of the program and to develop the content relevant to their needs.

5. Improving women's achievements in education

The notion of equality of education has been with us for some time. What is generally meant by this term is equal access to the same education system for all. But as Martin (1984) points out, an identical education for both men and women will not produce identical results in both. Education as we know it today was developed for males to suit their lifestyles and functions within society. As women have gained greater access to education, nothing was changed to accommodate their needs and lifestyles.

There has been much debate over the differences between men and women. Belenky et al. (1986) describes the difference as one of separateness and connectedness. Men are able to separate knowledge and knowing from the relationship, whereas, women tend to connect knowledge with people and relationship. They do not separate knowledge and feeling as naturally as men do, but education tends to favor those who do.

This is not to suggest that women's education should not resemble men's in any way at all. Gillette (1992:2) and Street (1992:16) point out that gender-specific literacy may have the effect of reinforcing gender inequalities in society rather than abolishing them. Literacy is more than a set of skills. It plays a role in determining our identity. Adult education groups that teach only those specific literacy practices that women are usually involved in limit a woman's chances of changing her identity. Street (1992:16) points out that often the literacy practices that women are involved in are "invisible," i.e., they occur in the private arena (in the home); whereas, men's practices tend to be performed more often in the public arena (in the workplace). This often means that women are labeled illiterate when in fact they are not. It is simply a case of their literacy not matching the literacy men achieve through formal education.

6. Conclusions

The general concensus on women's education agrees that there should be as concerted an effort directed towards women as there should be with any disadvantaged group. As Rogers (1992:27) points out, they make rewarding target groups.

There is also evidence that NGO's have a considerable contribution to make particularly in the area of adult education for women. SIL obviously has made and can continue to make a difference in this sphere. The principles we have applied in the past to whole communities should be applied to programs that target women specifically. That alone may not be enough, however, as women's needs are unique.

General attitudes within the community (specifically of men towards women's education) often need to be addressed. Men's involvement and support of any women's program will enhance its chances of success. Attitude changes take time, sometimes even generations, but some programs have sought to address the problem by raising it in the men's classes.

A concerted effort to recruit female teachers and give them support as they teach should be made. While many SIL programs do this, many excuses have been made for deliberately avoiding the choice of women as teachers. The problem is that women are expected to fit the program rather than fitting the program to the women's needs. Training of female teachers may take greater time and effort, but the pay-off in terms of an increase in women's participation in literacy classes should make it worthwhile.

Practical needs are often easier to take care of. Such things as providing child care, escorting women as they walk home, and timing classes to suit women can all make a difference. These are needs that will vary depending on the community. In many of our programs we are already addressing these needs.

In general, SIL literacy programs take an autonomous view of literacy by teaching general decoding and comprehension skills that we then expect participants will be able to apply to the specific literacy needs they have in their daily lives. There has been a trend internationally to link programs, and especially women's programs, to some income generating project or some other specific literacy need of women. Critical literacy has also become a popular approach with the idea that women should be made aware of their socio-political situation and that a literacy class should enable them to take steps in the direction of change which would improve their lives. Some SIL programs are also finding the need and value of moving in this direction.

Usually SIL literacy programs use the same methods and materials for men and women alike. Perhaps it is time to take a second look at our materials and their suitability for women. Whitby (1993) reports that when they began a literacy program directed at the Dadabi women, they also found the need to change the method of teaching from a bottom-up to a top-down approach. In my own limited experience, the Yale women were happier with an interactive approach than the men (who did not like the whole language activities).

There can be no hard and fast guidelines for the development of methods and materials that suit women. Perhaps the only guideline that can be given is to work with the women themselves in determining the curriculum. They know best their own needs and aspirations. Literacy gives women a voice in the community. They should also be given a voice in their education.

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Ngbaka Adult Literacy Program in Northwestern Zaire

Margaret Hill

Margaret Hill started her SIL *service in Nigeria in 1967 and worked with Mona Perrin amongst the Mabila people on the border between Nigeria and Cameroon. Due to the closure of* SIL*'s work in Nigeria, Margaret left there in 1976 by which time the Mabila New Testament was ready for publication. After a study furlough in which she obtained an M.A. in adult education, she was reassigned to Zaire. With Elaine Thomas, and at the invitation of the local churches, she served as project advisor for the Ngbaka New Testament working with Mother Tongue translators. The Ngbaka New Testament was printed in 1983. After working with the Ngbandi language until 1987, she then served on the Ngbaka Old Testament team. At present Margaret spends part of the year helping the Ngbaka literacy program and part of the year as a translation consultant in various parts of Africa.*

1. Background information

There are over one million speakers of the Ngbaka language which is classified as a Niger-Congo Adamawa Eastern Ubangian language. The Ngbaka people live in the northwest corner of Zaire in an area about 150 miles east to west and about 100 miles north to south. They live mainly in villages scattered in forested areas in the southern half and in savanna in the northern half. The administrative center of the area is Gemena which has a population of about 40,000. Traditionally, the Ngbaka were hunters, but now they are farmers with the main food crop being maize and the main cash crop, coffee.

The Ngbaka are a closely knit group. There has been less fragmentation of the traditional social structure than is often seen in Africa today. The Ngbaka are divided into seven clans, and everyone, even young well-educated people, still knows his clan. They are the largest group in this part of Zaire, have a strong sense of self identity, and traditionally have been aggressive rather than passive.

Protestants missionaries first began work in the area about sixty years ago, Catholic missionaries eighty years ago, and the area is largely Christianized. Most villages have both a Protestant and a Catholic church, and ninety percent of the population considers itself Christian. Amongst the Ngbaka, the division between Protestant and Catholic is about half and half. There are two Protestant church denominations in the area, one to the west and the other to the east. They only overlap in the main central town of Gemena. The Catholic church in the Ngbaka area comes under two dioceses. There are some nontraditional churches also, but Islam has made little impact in the area.

Zaire is experiencing a very depressed economy at present, and government services are virtually nonfuntional. In the Ngbaka area, as in the whole of the Ubangi, the situation has remained peaceful, but there is civil unrest or intertribal conflict in some other parts of the country. Zaire is an unstable country with an uncertain future.

2. History of the literacy project

2.1 General outline

Members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) arrived in this area in 1978. The New Testament was published in 1983, and the translation of the Old Testament has just been completed. It is hoped that the whole Bible will be available in the area in 1995. Trial literacy classes were begun in 1981 after establishing an orthography for Ngbaka that both Protestants and Catholics agreed to use. At the end of 1993, there were 24,000 students in 2,300 classes with a full-time Zairian literacy coordinator and seventeen full-time Zairian literacy supervisors.

2.2 The literacy situation in 1978

About ten percent of church members were literate to some degree. The percentage amongst non-churchgoers was somewhat lower. Amongst those who were literate, about ten percent could read French, and the rest could read the trade language, Lingala.

They had become literate through the formal school system or through church adult literacy classes in Lingala. These classes had been at their peak in the 1960s and early 1970s. By 1978, one church community had no adult literacy classes, while the other had some classes among women as part of a women's education program. There were two major problems with this program: *(a)* The primer in use to teach Lingala was based on the syllable method and tended to produce "readers" who had memorized the passage. *(b)* Many of the Ngbakas do not know Lingala, or they only have the vocabulary needed to buy and sell. There had been an abortive attempt by the Protestant missions to teach Ngbaka reading in the 1960s. The orthography had been reasonable, but the materials available were not adequate. Some adults who had attended Catholic schools as children learned to read Ngbaka well at that time.

2.3 The formal school situation

Up to independence in 1960 there had been good primary schools in reach of nearly every Ngbaka child. It is estimated that about fifty percent of the boys and ten percent of the girls went to school. Today in the churches, the best readers are often men over fifty years old. After 1960, the local primary schools deteriorated slightly but not radically so until 1973 when the government took control of the church schools. These were handed back to the church authorities in 1977 by which time the schools were barely functioning. They improved somewhat until the mid 1980s when a marked deterioration set in. Since the troubles of 1991, many parts of the country do not have functioning schools except for private fee-paying establishments.

In the Ubangi, the teachers have been on strike for periods of time since then, and the schools are open only intermittently. The poor morale of the teachers due to the non-payment of salaries means that, even when the schools are open, not much is being taught.

2.4 History of the Ngbaka adult literacy program

2.4.1 1978–1980. The initial emphasis was on teaching Ngbakas, who were already literate in French or Lingala, to read their own language. The first group of people involved in this were those who could read French, and the first transition manual was written in French. This turned out to be a good decision, as French speakers in this area are the elite influential members of society. After this, a transition manual in Lingala was prepared which was used to help the rest of the literate Ngbakas to read and write their own language.

As the problem of the large number of illiterates was faced, certain decisions were made that had far reaching effects.

1. It was decided to base the adult classes in the churches. This decision was made for two reasons: *(a)* the church seemed to be the only functional infrastructure in the area; and *(b)* ninety percent of the population considered themselves Christian and, therefore, would feel free to go to church based classes. At this time, the classes were only established in Protestant churches. The Catholic churches became involved later at the time of the interconfessional translation project of the Ngbaka Old Testament in 1987.
2. It was decided to ask the churches to provide the teachers, who would teach without pay as a service to their fellow Christians. By this time there was a small group of people in most churches who could read Ngbaka because of the Scripture in Use courses.
3. It was decided to choose a learning method for the primer that would be simple to teach, consistent from lesson to lesson, and could be contained in one book for reasons of economy.

In 1980 the SIL team drafted the first version of a basic reading primer and tested it in a pilot course of eighteen women meeting in a local church. At the end of six months, most had learned to read, and the primer had been revised and was ready for wider use.

2.4.2 1981-1983. The SIL team duplicated 300 copies of this primer, and two church regions were chosen for the first pilot scheme. Five churches in each region were invited to send two teachers to a teacher training course. The ten classes started and eight finished. From this experience, further changes were made to the primer. At the same time, postprimer materials were being prepared, mainly by the translation personnel. (The folk stories, for example, had been used in the study of discourse features in

Ngbaka.) At that point, a three stage program was envisaged (cf. Section 4).

The SIL team felt that at the end of this program Ngbaka adults would be both functionally literate and numerate, and they would be able to go on and read books available in Lingala, if they so desired. Most of the above books were available in a preliminary form by 1983. At this time the original classes were moving on to the later stages, and many other churches were asking to join the program.

By 1983 it became clear that the classes were not going to function properly without local supervision. (The translation project was going on in Gemena which was seventy miles from both centers of literacy classes.) The problems of literature distribution and sales were also becoming more obvious. In addition to this, the SIL team was about to begin a translation in another language. The following decisions were made at this time by the SIL team after long discussions with the Ngbaka teachers involved with the classes, church leaders, the translation personnel, and local missionaries.

1. It was decided to find two qualified men to serve as full-time literacy supervisors in the two church areas where the classes were underway.
2. It was decided to seek outside funding for the following:
   a) salaries of these two people
   b) the cost of two motor bikes for their use plus such things as fuel and spare parts
   c) subsidies for the printing costs of books
   d) T-shirts for the teachers who have always taught without salary as a form of tangible reward
   e) chalk (which is hard to obtain and very expensive)
3. It was decided to find an expatriate who would be willing to work full time in organization, training, and supervision of the program.

2.4.3 1983–1987. By the summer of 1983 all these things had fallen into place. Christian Aid UK had agreed to fund the project for three years. A short-term single man had agreed to work with the program for two years (which later became three), and he was later joined by a second short-term single man. (Neither of them were at that time members of SIL, but they were members of the two missions working in the area). One of them had received SIL training but not as a literacy specialist. They were assigned full time for this work with the enthusiastic blessing of their missions.

After learning Ngbaka, the first short-term man worked with the SIL team for about four months, running courses to choose the two supervisors, running teacher training courses, and visiting the existing classes. After that he took full responsibility for the work at the village level. The SIL team continued to work on literature production and helped with some teacher training. By the time the two short-term men returned to the United States in 1986, there were 250 classes and four more full-time supervisors were working in four more church regions. (There are twenty-one Ngbaka church regions.)

In 1986, Christian Aid sent two people to visit the project. One of these had considerable previous experience with similar programs in developing countries and was able to give good advice. As a result of the visit, and also because of the rapidly growing size of the program, the following changes were made in 1987.

1. A central literacy committee was set up with representatives of the two denominations to guide and coordinate the program. This committee has met approximately four times a year since then. From 1991, the Catholic Church has also been represented.
2. Each group of classes in a village was encouraged to start a development project and set up a development committee. Half of the proceeds from the development project was to go to the teachers and half to the local literacy classes. These projects were slow to get started, but by 1994 approximately three quarters of the villages had one.
3. One of the original supervisors was unanimously chosen by all concerned and officially appointed by the central committee to be the coordinator of the program. This meant he continued to supervise the work in his own area but also coordinated the overall work.
4. Under pressure from the coordinator, central committee, the other supervisors, literacy teachers, and students, the SIL team agreed that there should be six stages to the literacy program.

Passing the exam at the end of Stage 6 would result in a primary school equivalency certificate.

5. Everyone agreed that the ultimate goal was to have literacy classes in every church in all of the twenty-one church regions.

Beginning from 1987 the SIL team was once more working with an Ngbaka translation team to translate the Old Testament and revise the New Testament. Catholics were now members of the translation team so that all the churches would use the printed Bible. A Belgian priest also joined the team as an advisor and later helped the Catholic churches to join the literacy program.

2.4.4 1988–1991. The following developments occurred between 1988 and 1991.

1. At the end of 1989 Christian Aid, after supporting the program for six years, discontinued its funding. In 1990 funding was found through various small donations, and then from 1991 Wycliffe Bible Translators USA began funding the project.
2. The number of full-time supervisors increased to fifteen. The growth of the classes, teachers, and centers can be seen in the graph in the appendix (cf. Appendix).
3. The SIL team, together with the translators and certain of the literacy supervisors, continued producing the rest of the books needed for the six stages in a first draft. Then the books were gradually tested in duplicated form.
4. Leaders of Ngbaka Catholic churches requested reading classes for their members. It was agreed that for villages where there were established classes in the Protestant church, the Catholics would attend these classes. Where this occurred, the classes then shared the facilities of the two buildings. If the Protestant church had no classes or if the village only had a Catholic church, then classes could be established in the Catholic church. The priest who was a member of the translation team was able to sort out initial problems as this was put into action. By 1992 many new classes were established in Catholic churches. As time went on, many villages had one set of literacy classes that used both churches to meet.

dropout rate in Stage 1 is about fifty percent, of which about half try again at a later point by joining another class. The dropout rates for the other stages is much lower (about twenty percent). The majority of students complete the first three stages, but only about one half of the students go on to Stage 4. Most of the students who begin Stage 4 do finish Stage 6.

The teachers are often people who have finished primary school but have not used their literacy skills significantly since then. They, too, benefit from the stimulation of teacher training courses and the challenge of the teaching. Some students from the classes have now become teachers as well. They are only authorized to teach a particular stage, however, when they themselves have completed two stages beyond that.

4. An outline of the program

The student progresses through six stages as described below.

Stage 1

They learn to read from a booklet with the first four lessons only. Once students can read these booklets, they are allowed to buy the primer. Learning to read and write Ngbaka is taught using a basic reading primer. Halfway through the primer, the students begin to read a health book, and so begin to apply their knowledge to everyday life, while also continuing with the primer.

Stage 2

The students gain more fluency in reading Ngbaka by using a folk story book and two booklets of Bible stories; also, they continue to read and discuss the health book. They begin to learn to read Lingala, the trade language, using the United Bible Societies' Easy Reader series. The teacher's book for this stage has further writing exercises and arithmetic lessons.

Stage 3

The students complete simple Bible studies using a workbook and the Ngbaka New Testament. This stage also includes an agricultural book to read and discuss which covers animal husbandry and growing crops like beans and soya. There is further reading in Lingala and in a beginning book in French which teaches oral French for the few situations where the students might actually need to use the language. The teacher's book contains more writing exercises and more arithmetic including such items as the recording of family income and keeping the church accounts.

Stage 4

Students use a more detailed Bible workbook with study outlines on various topics. They complete a workbook on geography which starts its study with the village and finishes with the world. There is more Lingala reading. The students study a book teaching simple French grammar using a story in each chapter as the starting point. They also complete an arithmetic workbook, covering practical topics such as learning to calculate the price of items to make a certain profit and basic arithmetic rules such as the multiplication tables.

Stage 5

This stage includes a Bible study book on Ephesians. There is a history book in which there is a large section on the history of the Ngbaka people and world history from an Ngbaka perspective. There also is a more advanced French book and an arithmetic book which is mainly concerned with weights and measurements. There is also more Lingala reading.

Stage 6

There is a Bible study book on Revelation and a book teaching political systems found in the world. (This political systems book is to replace an outdated civics book.) There is a French book covering the remaining points found in the usual Zairian school curriculum and an arithmetic book teaching a variety of practical applications to everyday life. In addition, there is a creative writing book to encourage the students to become authors in Ngbaka.

5. Teacher training

Teacher training takes place in the church regions. Each stage has a separate training course: Stages 1 through 3 last for three days each, Stages 4 and 5 last four days, and Stage 6 has a five-day training course. The courses are held in churches in each region. Responsibility for providing food for the participants is shared. The literacy program provides the cost of one goat; the rest of the food for the participants is provided by the church. The teachers come with money from their literacy committees (or in the case of the first class, from their church) in order to buy the specific books for that stage. They are given chalk and registration sheets. The training for Stage 1 seeks to teach the Golden Rule of teaching above all else: "Never tell a student what he can work out for himself." At the end of the course there is a test which the prospective teacher must pass in order to be authorized to teach that stage in his church. In the early days of the program, up to twenty percent of the teacher trainees failed the first time they attended a course, now about ten percent of the trainees fail. Those who fail are given the position of teachers' assistants. In the case of Stages 4 through 6, a teacher may be authorized to teach certain subjects and not others. Each region has about six training courses a year. The literacy supervisors are trained to run teacher training courses. They work in teams of two. Stage 6 requires the participation of at least three supervisors.

6. The development projects

The development projects were initially started for three reasons:

- to provide a way to put new agricultural methods taught in the agricultural book into practice,
- to help improve the general standard of living in the villages, and
- to provide some benefit for the teachers who felt they should receive some reward for teaching the classes.

The original suggestion for development projects came from Christian Aid. In addition to the local village projects, an attempt was made from 1988 to 1990 to help the full-time supervisors set up regional development projects that would ultimately generate money for their salaries. The initial regional projects involved breeding pigs and was a complete failure. The local village development projects were functioning in about a third of the villages with varying degrees of success. At that time they were told they should have a development project but not much help was given with setting it up.

By 1991 with the disintegration of the economy of the country, it became obvious that the local area needed help in development quite apart from any benefits to the literacy project. At this point, help was sought from TEAR Fund UK who by then had Zaire categorized as in need of emergency relief. Their advice was to buy tools for the village projects and sewing machines for some of the regions, and they gave funds for these projects. The American missions in the area were also becoming concerned about the physical needs of the local people. A group of missionaries had been involved in development for some time, and when they returned to the area in 1991, it was possible to work out a coherent development strategy.

The present situation is that tools (such as spades, axes, machetes, and hoes) are being provided for nearly every village where there is an existing development project. Each village chooses its own development project and, according to the choice, various kinds of help are given. For example, if a village prepares a pond for fish, then the American mission will arrange delivery of young fish if there is no other fish pond in their immediate area. The Ngbaka literacy budget pays for the transport, and the Protestant mission development budget pays for the fish. One thousand fruit trees that bear protein rich fruit and grow fast were donated by the mission and transported by the Ngbaka literacy program to all the regions. Now two and a half years later some of the regions have seedlings started from these trees for further distribution. Other projects at present are the breeding of animals (goats, chickens, guinea pigs, and cats), the growing of crops (soya, beans, corn, peanuts, and melon seeds), and various cottage industries. Some examples of the cottage industries include the making of soap, bamboo furniture, and blackboards, and the pressing of palm nuts for oil. It was found that breeding pigs and rabbits did not work, because rabbits appear to be vulnerable to local diseases and pigs have caused too many problems escaping from enclosures and destroying local crops.

For some years there has been a small amount of development money available from the program budget for each region, and in 1993 for the first time, each supervisor was able to choose how he wanted to use $100 of development money in his region. The regions have different needs, and their choices were quite different. Some regions wanted as many hand tools as possible, while others wanted money to set up oil presses or soap making equipment. Still others wanted brick molds or wheel barrows. A basic need of the area is to replace imported goods, which are now difficult to obtain, with local equivalents. The village committee, in consultation with the literacy supervisor, decides what development project to start. The supervisor learns about new development possibilities at the quarterly meeting and spreads this information around his region, mainly during the teacher training courses.

Each region has a field for development use, and the proceeds from this field are used to help sick literacy teachers get medical treatment. Central oil presses are used in the same way. Six regions have sewing machines, and the proceeds of these machines are also used for medical treatment.

In June 1994, the eighteen supervisors were taught better ways of building mud block houses, a better method of making soap that does not involve imported caustic soda, and a better cooking method that conserves firewood. They then went on to teach these methods to classes in their regions. There are plans for locally grown cotton to be made into cloth, for other leguminous plants to be introduced, and for reviving a traditional way of making salt. The overall aim is to help the Ngbaka people to be as self sufficient as possible, a significant goal in a country where hyperinflation and demonetization is a fact of life.

7. Monitoring and evaluation

Every three months when the supervisors come into the center they account for the following items.

The money obtained from book sales

The administrative assistant checks their inventory of books against the money they have brought in. Only after that check is made are they able to give an order for new stock.

Their time

The coordinator of the program studies the daily diary of each supervisor and gives them help and advice as needed.

The progress of the classes

The supervisors have a record sheet for each village. Each time they visit classes in a village, they mark this on the village sheet, giving such information as the number of students and lesson taught. These sheets are studied at the quarterly meeting to see how the classes are progressing and to sort out any problems with the supervisors.

Statistics

Every three months each supervisor fills in a statistics sheet for his region. This sheet asks for information such as new classes started, new participants according to age and sex, teacher training courses held.

8. Future plans

By the end of 1995 there will be twenty-two literacy supervisors, that is, one for each church region and two for some particularly large regions. Two of these supervisors are members of the Catholic church, the rest are from the two Protestant denominations.

By the end of 1995, almost all villages should have at least a Stage 1 class. The "bulge" in Protestant churches should be moving up into classes in Stages 2 and 3 by then. It has been noted that in the Protestant churches there has already been an increase in slower students beginning Stage 1. This seems to be due to that fact that the quicker, more enthusiastic adults joined the classes as soon as they were available. (As the classes have been available to Catholics for a much shorter time, this is not yet a problem in their churches.) To help deal with this situation, an alphabet prereading book is being produced. This will be tried out in a controlled test to see if it helps the students in Stage 1.

There is a need to train an Ngbaka national in book production. At present the main need is for someone who can edit books, but later, if the country improves at all economically, Ngbakas need to be able to independently produce books locally. A writers workshop was held early in 1994, and there are many potential writers. It is hoped that a monthly newspaper will be started. The individual serving as graphics artist and production manager is producing a prereader that has pictures drawn by local artists. A new hymn book has recently been produced, and cassettes are being made to teach the new songs (they also include Scripture readings). It is hoped that listening centers will be set up under the auspices of "Hosanna."

At the beginning of 1994, a pilot Ngbaka reading and writing program was begun in the first year of the primary school in five pilot schools. In September 1994, twelve more schools were added and the program extended to Stage 2 for the original schools. SIL is providing technical assistance to the program. Funding is being sought for an extension of this technical assistance to the first three classes in all the 200 Ngbaka primary schools. If this actually gets going on a wide scale, it will help to reinforce the importance of literacy at the village level.

9. Conclusion

The number of adult students presently enrolled in literacy classes (33,000 at the beginning of 1995) is probably one of the largest numbers found in an SIL related project. The reasons for this follow.

Size of the population

There are over a million speakers of Ngbaka. The actual percentage of people attending classes is in fact very small.

Local motivation

The Ngbaka people as a whole have a real thirst for education and knowledge of new things that will improve their lifestyle. There is little resistance to change as such.

The state of Zaire

The present situation within the country has left a void in terms of education, literature, and general progress that the Ngbaka literacy program is seen by many people to fill.

The flexibility and simplicity of the program

All concerned with the program from the earliest days have tried to let local needs and demands shape the program. In addition, right from the beginning, the simplest possible teaching methods have been chosen so that a local literate can learn enough in three days to begin teaching a class.

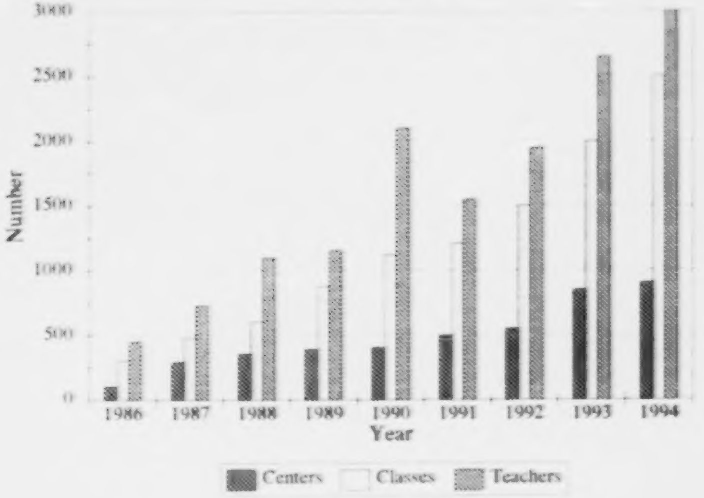
Outside funding

There is no way that the program could have developed to its present size without outside funding for most things, such as subsidizing the cost of the books used in the program.

There is now a big question mark over the future of the program. It would be quite possible that another 200,000 Ngbakas would seek to join the classes in the next five years. A situation could arise where almost every Ngbaka village has most of its adult population in classes or serving as teachers. However, this would require major funding and a building up of the local infra-structure, perhaps on the lines of an nongovernmental organization. Are we, as members of SIL, willing to contemplate a situation where programs initiated by us provide basic education for an entire population? These are questions that we need to consider as we confront the situation in Zaire.

Appendix

Ngbaka Literacy



Visual Auditory Tactile Kinesthetic Integration (VATKI)

Kay Ringenberg, Ed.S.

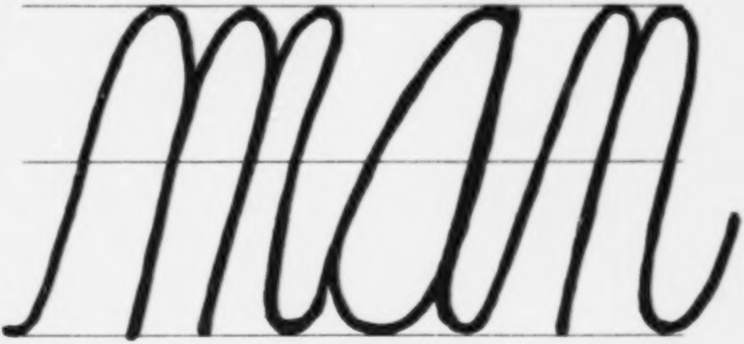
Kay Ringenberg received a B.S. degree in elementary education from Taylor University in 1962. She also received her M.S. degree (1980) in reading education and her Ed. S. degree (1987) in language education with a focus on curriculum development from Indiana University. Kay had a wide variety of experiences in the field of reading before joining SIL. *She was a classroom teacher, curriculum developer, and Paoli Learning Foundation President (a volunteer community-service group that worked to combat adult illiteracy and special learning needs in a small, rural community). Since joining* SIL *in 1985, she has served as the International Curriculum Consultant for the Children's Education Department* (CHED), *interim editor for* Notes on Literacy, *Literacy Consultant in Mexico, and is presently the Literacy Coordinator for the Indonesia Branch.*

During the late 1970s and early 1980s I became acquainted with Dr. and Mrs. Early. Both have worked with learning disabled students for over thirty years. They taught me the VATKI approach described below. I used this technique mainly for:

- teaching sight vocabulary to the people with weak memory skills
- improving extremely poor handwriting due to incorrectly formed letters or poor hand coordination
- teaching blending and sound-symbol integration

A large chalkboard is best to use. If a chalkboard is unavailable, a dry-marker board will do. If supplies are limited, paper bags can be torn open to make large writing surfaces and water can be used as paint on concrete walks. The best surface is one that can be erased and written on again and again.

Prepare the writing area for the student. Pick a word that the student wants to learn. Write the word in cursive script using the letter formation that the student needs to learn. Make sure that each letter is two inches tall. (When the student is ready, he will write his letters smaller.) Tall letters, such as "k," "l," and "h," will be four inches high. Make sure that each letter begins at the base line and flows smoothly to each other letter. A sample in English of the word "man" follows.



There are several steps that should be followed to master the word. Please do not move on to the next step until the first step is mastered. If a student forgets, move back to the step where mastery is needed. The steps are listed below.

1. Student watches and listens

The student watches and listens as the tutor traces the word and says each letter's sound, holding the sound for the length of time it takes to trace the letter. For "man" the student would hear: /mmmmmmm/ah-ah-ah-ah/nnnnnn/ as the tutor traces m—a—n in cursive script. The tutor would trace and say the word sounds several times before proceeding.

2. Student watches and says

The student watches the tutor trace the letters and says the sounds with the tutor as each letter is traced. When the student can smoothly say the sounds as the tutor traces them, the tutor does not say the sounds with the student. When the student confidently keeps up, it is time for step 3.

3. Student traces

The student traces the letters but does not say the sounds. The tutor says the sounds as the student traces the cursive letters. Be sure that the student keeps the flow correct and the size large. The large motor areas (kinesthetic) are involved at this time. When the tracing is smooth and accurate, the student may be ready for the next step.

4. Student traces and says

The student traces and says each sound. At first, the tutor says the sounds with him. As the student gains confidence, the tutor allows him to say the sounds without the help. When the student can confidently and accurately say and trace at the same time, he is ready for step 5.

5. Student says and watches

The tutor copies and says the word directly below or directly beside the pattern word. The student watches the copying process and says the sounds with the tutor. The word is erased and copied new each time. When the student smoothly says the sounds as the tutor copies, he is ready for the next step.

6. Student copies

The tutor says the sounds as the student copies the word. When the copying is smooth and accurate, the student is ready for step 7.

7. Student copies and says

The tutor says the sounds with the student as he copies the word fresh each time. See why an erasable surface is needed? When the student can copy and say the word without aid from the tutor, he is ready for the final step.

8. Student says

The tutor models the saying orally of the letters and sounds in the word without looking at the board. When the student thinks he can do it, let him try. If the student needs any assistance, go back to step 6 or step 7 until the student knows the sounds and sequence of letters.

Try VATKI. It may work!

Announcement

Computer Programs to Create Crossword and Other Word Puzzles

Two computer programs are currently available to create a variety of puzzles which can be designed for use in the vernacular. The shareware programs are called *Crossword Power* and *Vocabulary Power*. Registered copies for either one can be obtained from Terry L. Jepson at Wisco Computing, P.O. Box 8, Wisconsin Rapids, WI 54495 0008 (Phone: 715 435 3885). Each program costs US$ 41.95, which includes shipping overseas. These programs are designed for the IBM PC, XT, AT, PS/2, and compatibles (512K) and require MS-DOS version 2.1 or greater.

Crossword Power allows the generation of crossword puzzles varying in size from three to twenty-four columns and from three to seventeen rows. Up to eighty words can be in a puzzle with words up to seventeen characters allowed (including hyphens). Clues can be up to 100 characters long. Word lists and clues, once entered, can be edited at any time, and different word lists for different purposes or levels can be created under different filenames.

Vocabulary Power operates in similar fashion in terms of word and clues lists. This program enables the creation of crypto-word puzzles (simple letter-substitution code), bingo cards (as many different cards as desired can be produced from the same word list), multiple-choice puzzles with or without hints, scrambled words with or without hints, and word-search puzzles.

Both programs are very easy to use although there is some printer and layout configuration settings which must be taken care of first before anything can be printed out. But even these are relatively straightforward through pull-down menus.

The programs allow you to view the puzzles on screen before printing, and at the touch of a CHANGE command key, the puzzle is automatically rearranged.

These two programs are highly recommended for anyone looking for a quick and efficient way of producing fun puzzles for literacy projects.

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notes on LITERACY

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Culturally Embedded Literacy Among the Fulani: Is It Possible?[1]

Maja Liesch

Maja Liesch trained as a primary school teacher in Switzerland and taught for three years. While in Britain for language learning and religious studies, she was introduced to SIL. She joined SIL in 1985. In 1986, after completing her training in religious studies at Cambridge University in Britain, Maja finished her initial SIL training. She first worked in the Burkina Faso/Niger branch. She was then assigned to the Fulfulde project in Mali where she worked with Kim C. Le from the United States. At the moment her focus is on post-literacy. She is also concerned with developing a culturally appropriate literacy program with the Fulani.

1. Introduction

This article will not discuss the pros and cons of introducing literacy to a culture which has been, with few exceptions, an oral one until recently.[2] Rather, it will focus on some of the features of Fulani culture, in particular teaching and learning styles and information flow, and how they relate to a literacy project. It will also present how literacy could be promoted within the cultural network as an alternative to the approaches previously used by state schools and adult literacy classes. The main question under consideration is, "Is culturally embedded literacy possible among the Fulani?" Although the article focuses specifically on Fulani culture, many of the ideas and cultural institutions presented apply to a wide variety of cultures.

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[1] This article originally appeared in "Ethio-Info," an anthropological newsletter published by the SIL Africa Area Anthropology Department, Abidjan, Côte D'Ivoire. It has been revised and reprinted with the author's permission.

[2] The importance of the written mother tongue is discussed in the introduction of Shell and Wiesemann (1987).

The information for this study was gained through personal observations made in Ségué (a village in the Mopti area of Mali) and in other nearby villages, from listening and talking to people, and through reading related materials.

2. Some features of Fulani culture

There are many factors in Fulani culture that relate to the way people acquire or impart information. Three factors in particular, however, carry the greatest weight. These factors are age, role in society, and knowledge of a trade.

2.1 Age

A distinction is made between a vertical and a horizontal age axis. A VERTICAL AGE AXIS is based on kinship where persons are linked together by a blood relationship (e.g., father, to son, to grandson). A HORIZONTAL AGE AXIS is joins individuals of similar ages and interests. This relationship cuts across kinship ties and connects the individual to the wider society.

2.1.1 Vertical age axis. In Fulani culture old age is honored. The old people teach the young. Young people never teach older ones. Usually grandparents or parents teach their children and grandchildren to farm, to do household work, and to do other basic skills such as repairing a wall or plastering a house. It is, of course, the responsibility of the elders to teach the youth the accepted social code for good behavior. In a situation where parents are not available to teach, older siblings take the role of passing on information. So it is within the boundaries of the extended family that a child receives his basic education, that is, the skills that he needs to survive, and these skills are imparted orally.

2.1.2 Horizontal age axis. Another way in which children acquire knowledge is on the horizontal axis, that is, children form associations or clubs called *BAALE* (plural, *waalde* singular), which are based on similar ages and divided by sex. In these *baale* information is shared without much influence from parents or other adults. There the young people have freedom to learn the roles of adulthood in society. *Baale* are also formed on the basis of similar interests and common goals. For example, a group of women wanted to start adult literacy classes by means of such a club.

2.2 Role in society

There are two categories of people who play special roles in Fulani society. The first group is obliged or expected to pass on knowledge and information. For example, the village chief is supposed to inform his co-citizens about government decrees. Religious leaders, such as the marabout and the imam, are responsible for passing on their knowledge about God, mankind, and the world.

Within the second category are people who do not share their knowledge indiscriminately with others. There are people (shamans) who purport to have knowledge of healing with herbs and amulets, knowledge of how to give blessings and throw curses, and knowledge of the future. They also give counsel on life issues. These shamans often keep knowledge to themselves in order to limit the competition.

2.3 Knowledge of a trade

In addition to role difference, Fulani society divides people into three levels: nobles, caste people who are freeborn, and former slaves. Those who are considered slaves were either taken captive in war or born into slavery. All of the male caste people (and to a certain extent the females) know a specific trade that is passed on from one generation to another. Trades are often predictable from the family names of the caste. For example, in the village of Ségué, the *Kase* family belongs to the weavers' caste. Furthermore, when you enter a weaver's courtyard, you are likely to find a woman who knows how to make pottery. Trades are clearly defined according to caste and according to sex. Other trades include leather-working, wood-working, metal working, and dealing in gold, silver, and iron. Praise singers, or *griots*, can be from either sex.

3. Conclusions in view of literacy promotion

Having looked at these various factors, what questions can be asked and what conclusions can be drawn about the way information is passed on? Some relevant questions are: *a)* Who teaches whom? *b)* What is being taught? *c)* Where does the teaching come from? *d)* What are the means by which things are taught?

3.1 Who teaches whom?

In every situation, except that of the *baale*, the teaching is from top to bottom. That is, the older person or the person with the greatest amount of prestige or status teaches the younger, less respected or less experienced person.

3.2 What is taught?

For the most part, the basic skills of life are taught within the confines of the family. Knowledge about a specific trade is passed from parent to child within the confines of the caste. This is done in order to preserve the boundaries of the caste within the larger culture. What is important to note is that not all knowledge is free and available to everybody. Some of the important information in the society is owned by only a few people who pass it on to people related to them by blood. For example, the blacksmith tells his son how to circumcise the next generation. Shamans are not restricted to caste. They can come from any level of society, but they also do not freely share their knowledge.

Religious teaching can be obtained from the imam or the marabout. This training takes place either in the home or at the mosque which, for a Fulani person, is the next most important place to the home. It is to the mosque that the individual goes for prayers and formal religious teaching. Religious teaching for women is given at home.

3.3 Where does the teaching come from?

Most of the teaching comes from within the community. Secular information from the outside, however, needs to come through the village chief. It is the chief who communicates with the government. When it comes to religious information and insight, the religious leaders are the link between the spiritual world and the physical one.

3.4 What are the means of teaching and the philosophy behind it?

All information, except for religious training, is given orally. In religious training, the students are formally taught to read and write in Arabic to varying degrees. Thus, in Fulani culture, knowledge and information have most often been transmitted by demonstration, by oral communication, and by imitation. The pressures of mere survival have necessitated the virtual omission of individual choice, personal options, and talents from education.

4. How could literacy fit into the Fulani culture?

The Western idea of literacy is that by using the written word trained individuals teach those who have less training in order to improve their physical, emotional and spiritual condition. However, is this a model that would be appropriate in the context of Fulani culture?

As mentioned above, the home plays a very important educational role in the early life of a Fulani individual. It would not be a place where literacy could become functional, because the home is the cradle for "survival" education. Before any child can improve basic skills he has to learn them. Furthermore, teaching is given orally. No one can imagine a grandfather giving his grandson a lesson on how to make bricks or weave a blanket on a written paper.

The mosque is also an important place of learning. For this reason, the idea of having literacy classes at an imam's or marabout's house or even at the mosque is appealing. In this setting there is someone trained who teaches those with less training. The imam is already a mentor to his students.

Finally, we come to the *waalde*. On a social level it has a very significant place in Fulani culture as it gathers people together who have common goals and similar interests. For example, the *waalde* may be the arena where young adults will organize the collective work on their common field. A *waalde* is made up of a chief and his associates, but normally no one member functions as a trainer of anyone else. If there is educational information flow in the *waalde*, then it is most often given orally and not in written form. Despite this, if any of these three mentioned Fulani institutions have potential for a literacy program that is religiously neutral, then it is the *waalde*. Furthermore, a program within the context of the *waalde* would probably not need much outside funding.

Last, but not least, it is essential when introducing a literacy program to a community to first talk to the village chief and his counselors. The chief is the channel by which outside information is passed to the inside.

5. Conclusion

This article describes an ideal Fulani society not touched by Western influence. This does not quite reflect reality. There have been major efforts by the Malian government, churches, missions, development agencies, and individuals to overcome illiteracy. Many of these efforts reflected the Western style of education. The results have been mixed. Some programs showed good or even excellent results, while others had results that were not very impressive. People who have been involved in such educational programs may not like the idea of using cultural channels for literacy work. Even those who have not had any such education might resist it. Their logic could be that since literacy work is something from the outside, it has to be taught by an outsider in an outside's way. Despite this, the question asked at the beginning of this article is worth pondering. Can a culturally embedded literacy movement be set up among the Fulani people? This is an important question to consider because mosques and *baale* are not disappearing quickly in Fulani culture but trainers and funds from outside may be.

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A Literacy Program Management Training Initiative in Eastern Africa

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1. Introduction

1.1 The need

As SIL has become increasingly involved in literacy work across sub-Saharan Africa, the potential for development of large literacy programs has become clear. In many SIL-sponsored language projects, positive local language attitudes, high motivation for reading in the mother tongue, and the availability of qualified local people to help implement literacy programs have led language teams to envision literacy programs that involve more local partnership than ever.

In the handful of large SIL-sponsored literacy programs that already exist in Africa, this vision has been borne out. Programs staffed and supervised by local and national level coordinators show impressive results. However, as more large programs become a possibility, the need for thorough training of local supervisors has become clear. These African colleagues need training in principles of literacy similar to what SIL field workers receive. They also need training in principles of good management if they are to administrate the classes, personnel, and resources involved in a successful, ongoing, large literacy program. In recognition of this need, SIL's 1994 Africa Area (AFA) Committee recommended that attention be given to "training for large literacy projects." The specifics of carrying out this directive were delegated to area and entity literacy staff.

At the same time, literacy project workers in eastern Zaire recognized the need for training local literacy supervisors in the area of general management principles. Literacy goals of SIL's Eastern Zaire Group (EZG) include the establishment of sustainable indigenous literacy programs with a focus on the training of nationals to this end. So the literacy administrators in AFA and EZG took special interest in finding a way to implement the training directive from the AFA committee. SIL's international management training department was contacted and the department agreed to work on the project as well.

1.2 The purpose

One basic assumption from the start of the planning was that large, ongoing literacy programs do not just appear overnight; rather, they grow from well-run smaller projects. On that basis, it seemed reasonable to begin by training people who are involved in small but growing projects. EZG had been interested in this kind of training for some time, so several Zairian language projects were targeted for a trial management training course.

The purpose of the training initiative was to develop and test a training course in management principles which are relevant to literacy programs. The course should then be adaptable for use in various parts of Africa. This initiative involved three challenges:

1. to adapt what were essentially Western-produced and Western-oriented management training materials to the African situation, focusing on the most relevant principles for the African literacy program supervisor;
2. to communicate those principles in a way appropriate to African learning styles;
3. to translate these concepts into French. This latter goal was due to the francophone character of Zaire and at least eleven other African countries where SIL works in literacy.

1.3 The strategy

The training initiative actually consisted of three separate parts.

1. The first part consisted of two weeks in May 1995 at the BTL (Bible Translation and Literacy) Centre, Nairobi, Kenya, where a training course in management principles

was taught to representatives of six area SIL entities (hereafter referred to as "management trainees"). SIL's international management training coordinator, RuthAnn Price, provided this training. Africa Area project management coordinator, Joel Trudell, organized the course and aided RuthAnn in determining course content. The management trainees studied the material presented and tried to identify which management principles and skills would be most useful for African (specifically Zairian) literacy project supervisors. The group then devised a curriculum for a two-week course for Zairian and SIL literacy program supervisors.

2. The second part was two weeks in June 1995 in Bunia, Zaire, where the management trainees taught the course to sixteen Zairian and five expatriate literacy supervisors. Course content was modified on-site in response to the expectations of participants.
3. Finally there was an evaluation session in Nairobi after the course with the management trainees, AFA literacy staff, and RuthAnn Price.

2. Implementation

2.1 Personnel

The list of management trainees who taught the course in Bunia follows.

Name (nationality)	**SIL entity represented**
Rudy Klaas (U.S.)	Eastern Zaire
Gertrud Kurrle (Germany)	Burkina Faso/Niger
Margaret Langdon (U.K.)	Burkina Faso/Niger
Barbara Robson (Australia)	Togo/Benin
Ian Cheffy (U.K.)	Cameroon/Chad
Ken Satterberg (U.S.)	Western Zaire

Twenty-one persons participated as learners in the two-week course in Bunia: sixteen Zairians and five expatriates. Eight language groups from Zaire were represented (Lendu, Budu, Fuliiru, Komo, Logo, Mangbetu, Mayogo, and Ngbaka).

2.2 Teaching methodology

In view of the particular needs of the Zairian literacy programs personnel, the management topics included in the training course focused on personnel-related issues. It was felt that topics such as planning, bookkeeping, and other aspects of management would be better taught separately at each individual project allocation.

Emphasis was placed on teaching in a manner appropriate for global learners through techniques such as the overview of material to be taught in more detail later, thorough explanation of the goal of each assignment, practical exercises, case studies, and the use of wall charts kept on display summarizing the topics taught. Approximately half of the class time was used for small group discussions and opportunities for the participants to apply the material to their own literacy programs. The staff were also available for consultation with small groups or individuals on topics of interest to them.

At certain points it was felt appropriate to include a discussion of the Biblical basis for some topics. The rational for this came from the fact that SIL literacy work in Zaire is conducted under the auspices of the Zairian churches and all the participants were members of these churches.

In addition to the basic course material, members of each language group presented their literacy programs to the other participants during the evening sessions.

2.3 Terminology used

One problem during all phases of this course was the meaning and use of key terms such as "manager," "teacher," "employer," "supervisor," and "employee." This problem was complicated by the lack of one-to-one translation between English and French. It was further compounded during the Bunia course when it became evident that the different literacy projects use different terms for the same positions. Therefore, it was possible to have a "director" in one project doing the same work as a "supervisor" in another project. For the purposes of this paper, the term LEADER indicates the person in charge, whether it be a manager, supervisor, or teacher; SUBORDINATE indicates the person under or responsible to the leader.

2.4 African or Western?

As the management trainees grappled with the management principles presented by RuthAnn Price in the initial training course, questions like the following were frequently being asked. Is this concept too "Western"? Is it useful to Africans given their cultural backgrounds? Recognizing that literacy people are agents of change, will these principles contribute to sustainable literacy projects in an African context? In this context, several basic principles of management were chosen for development in the course.

Management principles and techniques were introduced to the course participants by demonstrating how they are already present to some extent in their own culture. It was then demonstrated how these principles and techniques could be further applied to literacy programs. It was very important to this process that at least one of the management trainees was intimately familiar with the target culture. Great effort was also made to elicit Zairian principles and techniques which apply to the same areas of management.

2.5 Topics taught

The two main topics covered in the Bunia course were leadership behavior and cultivating initiative.

LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOR focused on the balance between a leader's task behavior (i.e., one-way communication explaining to the subordinate how, when, and where to do a task) and RELATIONSHIP BEHAVIOR (i.e., two-way communication that encourages the subordinate to be independent). A model was used that contains four stages of a mentoring relationship between leader and subordinate. This model results in moving the character of that relationship first from dependence to independence then finally to interdependence (see Figure 1 following).

Figure 1. Leadership behavior

	Stage 1	**Stage 2**	**Stage 3**	**Stage 4**
Leader	Modeling Telling	Explaining	Encouraging Monitoring	Giving responsibility to the learner
Subordinate	Listening Watching	Imitating Asking Conceptualizing Giving feedback	Practicing Actualizing Accepting responsibility	Doing Creating Fulfilling
Relationship	Dependence		Independence	Interdependence

The second main topic, CULTIVATING INITIATIVE, covered a broad range of management skills, behavior, and ideas. As presentations were developed for teaching how to cultivate initiative, focus was directed on two areas: *a)* the leader skills which can be used in the literacy project to encourage communication, and *b)* the behavior of the subordinate. Both areas contribute to the goal of project sustainability.

Four main management skills were covered:

1. encouraging communication
    - through habits and attitudes
    - through the use of feedback
2. managing confrontation
    - how and why to confront a subordinate
    - the confrontation itself
3. establishing expectations
    - job descriptions
    - standards of performance
    - regular review of the job description and standard of performance
4. delegating responsibility

3. Evaluation

3.1 Response of participants

In general, the participants in the Bunia course responded very favorably to the material presented. The first two or three days were difficult, however, as the participants were introduced to concepts that were new or unfamiliar to them in the literacy program context. As part of a final course evaluation, participants were asked for their comments. Below are some of the comments made. (Language group of the speaker is in parentheses.)

1. It is as if we have been given a basket full of mangos, and now we need to decide how to distribute them to our people. (Mangbetu)
2. Grain has been sown in the earth, and with the rain it will grow and give a harvest. (Fuliiru)
3. We have been swallowing everything like vultures and with each morsel we have been saying it tastes good. (Fuliiru)

4. It is like cool water from far away. (Fuliiru)
5. We were walking in darkness and not able to see beyond our noses. Now our horizons have been broadened and we can see over the fence. (Lendu)
6. We have tools to help us do the work. (Budu)
7. You have received the love of God, and you want to share it. (Mayogo)

3.2 Staff observations and recommendations

In evaluating the Bunia course, the management trainees made the following observations and recommendations.

1. The course was a good first step towards providing management training for Africans and expatriates working together in literacy. The material prepared for Bunia provides a good framework on which future courses can be based.
2. It is well worth continuing to develop the curriculum and the concepts taught.
3. Care will need to be taken to adapt the material to each situation in which it will be taught. For example, the many Scripture verses used in the course as taught in Zaire may need to be removed or changed in countries where there is no church participation in literacy projects.
4. It would be very advantageous to incorporate Africans into the staff of future courses so that the course content and presentation of the material can be made even more appropriate for the participants.
5. SIL members and their African colleagues should continue to be encouraged to participate together as learners on the assumption that both are co-owners of their literacy projects. This will also help in developing and strengthening strategies for handing projects over to African management. However, in the development of the course, consideration needs to be given to the likelihood that SIL expatriates and Africans probably represent two

different types of audiences because of the differences in their cultural backgrounds and learning styles.

6. In view of the emphasis on discussion and dialogue in the course, it is important for all trainers and staff members to be proficient in the language of instruction.
7. When preparing future courses, staff members must allow ample time for the adaptation and duplication of course materials. The expense of providing course handouts should also be taken into account in preparing the budget.
8. In order to allow the management trainees sufficient time to learn the principles being taught and to reflect on their application, it would be advisable to plan an initial two-week period of preparation well in advance of the actual course. This would be in addition to one or two weeks of preparation immediately before the course when the content can be finalized. The course itself should take two weeks if it is intended to cover the same content that was presented at Bunia.

The management trainees recognized that the lesson format, and in some cases the lesson content, that were developed for the Bunia course will have to be adapted both for other countries and cultures in which the workshop is taught, as well as for the type of participants taking part in that course. They also determined that a curriculum consisting of lesson-by-lesson outlines would be too hard to follow without background knowledge of the particular management skills addressed. For these reasons, it was decided not to prepare and disseminate a collection of course notes. Rather any entity interested in such training is encouraged to contact Joel Trudell in Nairobi and training can be arranged to adapt the curriculum to the specific situation.

4. Conclusion

The responses and reports of the Zairian participants indicate that they internalized many of the principles presented and that they were willing to try to implement them in their literacy programs. The extent to which these principles are actually implemented will depend upon several things: *a)* the openness of the SIL project personnel to do so, *b)* the attitude of the churches under which the projects are carried out, and *c)* the course participants' willingness to implement changes. It would be good to follow up this course with a visit in a year's time to each language group represented at the course to see what changes have been implemented.

This course could be usefully taught wherever the need for literacy program management training is felt. In each case, modifications will need to be made to the basic material and to its presentation according to local circumstances and requirements.

Bhola's Total Literacy System: Application to SIL Literacy Programs

Don Hilgendorf, Joanne Locnikar, and Jean Nichols

1. Introduction

The literacy system[1] compiled by H. S. Bhola appears to be quite comprehensive. In his unpublished manuscript "A Source Book for Literacy Work: Perspective from the Grassroots"[2] he claims this system is applicable at the grassroots level of literacy programs. This total literacy system addresses all levels of involvement from national government to the teacher in the local village. Bhola's system was written from the viewpoint of working through the national government in setting up literacy programs.

It is our purpose in this article to apply Bhola's total literacy system to literacy programs in the context of a non-government organization (NGO) since most NGOs work at the grassroots level. Using data gathered in research, this article will attempt to determine if Bhola's system is a useful tool for the development of healthy literacy programs and projects under the auspices of an NGO. The NGO that will be focused on is the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). For the purposes of manageability our study will consist of a sampling of SIL literacy programs in the country of Papua New Guinea (PNG) only. The literacy programs used were mother tongue literacy for adults, children, or both.

In this study, a healthy or effective literacy program is defined as one that is either on-going, expanding, or run by the national people.

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[1] The term "system" will be used throughout this article since it is the term Bhola used in his book. This is not synonymous with a model since a system is much broader in scope which we feel was Bhola's intent.

[2] Permission was received personally by Dr. Bhola to use this unpublished text for the basis of this article. The manuscript has since been published. Full bibliographic information is in the references section of this article.

Bhola's total literacy system is viewed as a descriptive and analytical system. It basically describes the components of a healthy literacy program and analyzes each one with the intent of guiding others as they develop their own projects and programs.

The data gathered indicates which components of Bhola's total literacy system are present or absent in each program and who is involved in the planning and the implementation of each subsystem. This article will discuss whether presence or absence of subsystems determines a healthy literacy program. It will also discuss other factors that directly influence the implementation of some subsystems and the effectiveness of a literacy program.

2. Background

2.1 The total literacy system

Over the years adult literacy projects, programs, and campaigns in developing countries have had a tendency to be as diverse as the cultures in which they have been initiated. Yet those literacy programs which have been effective appear to have certain components in common.

Various organizations (such as UNESCO and Peace Corps), governments, and education systems have developed statements of literacy and program guides in an attempt to create effective literacy programs. Unfortunately, these have been highly theoretical and have not been directed at the people actually carrying out the literacy projects at the grassroots level. They look good in theory but are not successful in practice for a wide range of literacy projects and programs.

Dr. H. S. Bhola has presented a comprehensive literacy system which he claims can be understood and applied at the grassroots level of most literacy projects. Though many literacy projects are implemented locally on a small scale, he "shows that an effective literacy system is often large both in size and scope" (Bhola 1992:173). This indicates that people outside of the community, i.e., supervisors, specialists, and government officials, will be involved in an effective literacy project. The focus is on the "big picture" and shows the teacher where he fits into this system giving him a better understanding of his role in the literacy project. This system gives a comprehensive view of "all the requirements for the successful implementation of a literacy initiative" (Bhola 1992:174).

The total literacy system consists of eleven subsystems which are briefly explained below.

The IDEOLOGICAL SUBSYSTEM clarifies the basic purpose of the literacy program. Bhola cites only cultural and economic ideas and how they relate to the politics of the country. This article contends that this can also be expanded to include spiritual goals since many NGOS and communities base their literacy programs on these goals.

The POLICY AND PLANNING SUBSYSTEM converts the ideologies into literacy policies and initiates planning of a program within a time frame.

The INSTITUTIONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL SUBSYSTEM implements the policies developed in the second subsystem above. Structures are put into place to enable teaching functional literacy, establish new roles, and establish interfaces with other ministries and departments.

The MOBILIZATION SUBSYSTEM focuses on maximum involvement of the people. Motivation of teachers, students, and community is essential for commitment of resources to keep a literacy project going.

The PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT SUBSYSTEM provides professional support to the literacy system for training, evaluation, and research.

The CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT SUBSYSTEM makes decisions on what will be taught, when and where it will be taught, who will teach, and what are the desired effects. Program delivery takes place within this subsystem.

The MEDIA AND MATERIALS SUBSYSTEM determines where materials will come from and what kinds of materials are needed for both student and teacher. It also explores what is available from inside and outside the community.

The TRAINING SUBSYSTEM prepares teachers, supervisors, and other program personnel for their roles in the system through pre-service and in-service training programs.

The TEACHING-LEARNING SUBSYSTEM delivers the literacy instruction. This is the heart of any literacy system for this is where the success of the program is determined. A literacy program with this subsystem firmly in place will produce literate people.

The POST-LITERACY SUBSYSTEM is responsible for maintaining ongoing literacy among adult literates in the community and providing uses of literacy in many aspects of daily life.

The EVALUATION SUBSYSTEM insures that all decisions are informed decisions through the collection of descriptive and evaluative information. This is carried out at all levels of the system from the student to the evaluation specialist.

It is important to note that these subsystems work together and overlap in many areas. Bhola acknowledges that this is an "ideal-type" system (1992:20) and that all literacy projects, programs, and campaigns do not have all of these components. He also recognizes the need for adaptation in individual projects and programs.

2.2 Adult literacy in Papua New Guinea

Adult literacy projects have been carried out in various areas of Papua New Guinea since the 1870s. For the most part they have been initiated under the sponsorship of NGOs. Adult literacy falls under the non-formal education sector in the Papua New Guinea government and has not been a priority until just very recently. In 1989, the national government began seriously formulating a program to organize national, provincial, and local awareness for a combined effort to eradicate illiteracy within PNG. Government sponsored programs in the past were plagued with numerous organizational and financial problems (Education Sector Study, 1991:3). The recommendation for dealing with the problems of government sponsored programs and the diversity of programs is to decentralize non-formal education. Thus provincial governments would have total responsibility for adult literacy programs with the possibility of funding at the national level (Ministerial Committee Report 1986:42–43).

Conservative estimates tell us that in 1990 there were seventy-nine literacy programs for adults with 258 classes (Education Sector

Study 1991:6). Another estimate states that in 1988 over 200 literacy programs had been established in PNG (Malone 1991:1). This estimate most likely includes children's literacy programs. These programs are community-based literacy programs made possible by NGOs and the provincial governments with support from the Department of Education.

The most successful programs have been those run under the guidance of NGOs. "The Summer Institute of Linguistics has promoted rural development and adult literacy for three decades in all parts of Papua New Guinea" (Education Sector Study 1991:2). It is obvious SIL is well established in PNG and has continued to develop effective literacy programs[3] primarily at the local level due to the government's focus on other priorities over the years.

With a renewed interest in adult literacy and vernacular literacy for all ages by the national government the literacy department of SIL in Papua New Guinea is currently involved in shifting its focus to the "big picture" and becoming a part of larger scale programs and campaigns. The focus of this article, however, will continue to be the work of SIL in literacy programs at the community level. Even though it operates as one organization, each literacy program is unique due to the diverse circumstances in each situation.

3. Questions addressed

A number of questions need to be addressed in order to determine if Bhola's total literacy system is a useful tool for the development of literacy programs sponsored by SIL. This study will focus on the following questions.

- Can Bhola's literacy system be effectively applied to literacy projects and programs sponsored by a NGO, e.g., SIL?
- Are all the subsystems, cited by Bhola, currently being implemented in SIL literacy programs? If not, are these programs healthy?

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[3] In Bhola's terms SIL programs would be referred to as projects because they are locally implemented, but we will use "program" throughout this article since it is the preferred term for SIL.

- Are all the subsystems necessary for a healthy program?
- Is there a pattern as to which subsystems are missing in different programs?
- What are the consequences of missing subsystems?
- Are any subsystems more critical than others?
- Should any modifications or new subsystems be added to Bhola's total literacy system?
- Are there other factors, not included in Bhola's system, that will affect a literacy program either positively or negatively?

4. Subjects

Eight literacy or translation teams were randomly chosen to be interviewed concerning their literacy programs. Seven were used, since one team had not yet set up a literacy program. All the subjects have worked in Papua New Guinea with SIL for a minimum of one term (four years). They have all had experience at the grassroots level in a literacy program at some stage. The size of the language groups and the various locations of these programs reflect the great diversity of people, cultures, and terrain in Papua New Guinea. Chart 1 in Appendix C summarizes the background information collected on each subject.

5. Method

Data was collected by personal interview either face-to-face or by telephone. Each interview averaged two to two and one-half hours in length. A questionnaire was designed with questions based on the eleven subsystems of the total literacy system in Chapter 11 of the source book (Bhola 1992). Questions were then categorized under these eleven sub-headings. The questionnaire contained fifty-six questions (see Appendix A). This questionnaire provided adequate information for the interviews to determine the following: *(a)* which subsystems were planned in the programs, *(b)* the extent to which these subsystems were actually implemented and are on-going, and *(c)* who else was involved and how they were or are involved in the program.

Upon inquiry, it was found that none of the subjects were familiar with Dr. Bhola's total literacy system. This may have been an advantage. Without prior knowledge of Bhola's system, the subjects gave answers objectively. They did not attempt to fit their answers into any preconceived categories. Any additional information acquired during the interviews regarding such things as culture, history, populace, and attitudes was also noted and used as needed for the purposes of our study.

6. Data and analysis

In the seven SIL programs that were studied there is great variation as is evident from the charts. To understand and analyze all factors which might account for this is beyond the scope of this article. However, there are factors which are quite evident and deserve attention. The charts, while quite clear, are limited in that they may not show the variation within a particular category, nor do they explain factors which have impacted the program. Some further explanation about the programs is therefore included in the discussion.

Chart 2 (in Appendix C) basically consists of an overview of the extent to which Bhola's system has been utilized by seven SIL programs. While all the subsystems were not planned and implemented in all the SIL programs, every subsystem is represented in at least some of the programs. Considering that the translators and literacy workers are not acquainted with the Bhola system and did not plan according to Bhola's total literacy system, the fact that all subsystems are represented demonstrates the validity and necessity of each one.

Program A began recently. Although literacy classes have been held, the policy and planning subsystem is still only partially implemented. Curriculum has not yet been developed, but some primers have been produced and a writers' workshop was held. The institutional and organizational subsystem will develop as the program grows. However, careful planning is needed to insure the local people see the literacy program as their own for it to become an institution within their culture. In this program the literacy workers were told there was already high motivation for literacy prior to the team's arrival. Therefore, as the chart indicates, no plans for a mobilization subsystem were made. The apparent high motivation may be more a perception on the part of expatriates than a deep conviction among the local people. The mobilization subsystem should be given particular attention as it may be crucial to the on-going success of the program.

Program B also began recently. As the chart indicates, more thorough planning was carried out in Program B than was done in Program A. All but one subsystem is currently planned. The post-literacy subsystem does not appear to be necessary for initial commencement of this program but will be added as the program continues to develop. The fact that evaluation is already planned is further evidence of careful and thorough planning.

Program C is well established as evidenced by the completeness of the chart. All subsystems were planned and have been fully implemented. This is a good example of a small NGO program that comprehensively incorporates Bhola's total literacy system. Early in the program development a liaison was made with a community leader. A committee was formed with key people from three local institutions. Goals were developed with planning and implementation thoroughly defined. Mobilization spread from local and provincial levels on to the National Department of Education. Local instructional materials were prepared through community supported teacher training and curriculum workshops. The community experienced personal involvement and supported the literacy program.

Program D is particularly unique from the other programs. This program began through a request for the translator to assist an established education institution. The translator was asked to implement a vernacular literacy program. While Program C is in many ways a complete model of Bhola's system, Program D, by its very nature, cannot follow the pattern of the comprehensive Bhola system. The chart shows that only five of the eleven subsystems are present. Yet, that is probably quite adequate for this program. In reality many, if not all, of the other seven subsystems are present in the already-established educational institution.

Program E is strongly similar to Program C. It has all of the subsystems present, and this literacy program is well-established. Public relations is a unique characteristic of this program. For several years prior to the establishment of a literacy team to the region, the translator developed extended, positive relationships throughout the community and province. A strong local community school system had also been well-established. The provincial Minister of Education was actively involved. The literacy team was able to build on a strong foundation that led to extended professional support. Training strengths led to positive teaching and learning attitudes and provisions.

Program F is also an established program. It includes a community development component. All subsystems were planned, and all are implemented as the chart indicates. There is some justification for the four subsystems which are only partially implemented. The professional support subsystem has not been fully implemented, because the people prefer to do it themselves. There is professional support available if it is required. A lack of materials is the main reason the media and materials subsystem and the teaching-learning subsystem are not fully implemented. This program is now completely run by the people and the post-literacy subsystem is fully implemented by the people. However, there is less concern for on-going literacy related issues, because literacy has become a well-established institution within the culture.

Program G was initiated somewhat reluctantly due to the fact that a program was already in place through another institution. Program G was not established in the community and the program is no longer operating. The chart shows that only four subsystems were planned. Although each was implemented, only two were fully implemented. This program was operated primarily by the translator with minimal community involvement. There was no mobilization subsystem to generate interest in vernacular literacy. Many of the people were already literate in the language of wider communication (LWC). Being literate in the LWC made the people question the need to read in the vernacular. This is a problem that is common in some sections of Papua New Guinea.

When Chart 2 is examined as a unit and the subsystems are seen across the programs, a pattern can be observed as to the subsystems missing in the programs that are not healthy or firmly established. Mobilization is neither planned nor implemented in programs A, D, and G. The teaching-learning subsystem has not been planned or implemented in programs D and G and only partially implemented in program A. The post-literacy subsystem appears to be the weakest one. It was not planned or implemented in programs A, B, D, and G. (It needs to be noted, however, that program A is partially implementing post-literacy, and the situation in program D indicates that another institution has implemented this subsystem.) It is also evident in these programs that evaluation was not planned or implemented.

Chart 3 (in Appendix C) organizes the information from Chart 2 in a way that presents a correlation between the number of subsystems present and the status of each program. This chart indicates that a complete and on-going program most likely will contain all eleven subsystems. It would appear that any program with less than seven of these subsystems would not be a healthy literacy program. It can be observed that the programs with less than seven subsystems are either part of another entity (program D) or are no longer functioning (program G).

While all subsystems of the total literacy system are used in SIL programs, there is a noticeable variation in the overall emphasis these subsystems receive. This is illustrated in Chart 4 (in Appendix C) which graphs each subsystem as planned and implemented by each literacy program. It is apparent that many more programs plan for subsystems than actually implement them. However, some subsystems are not even planned. For example, the post-literacy subsystem is planned in only three out of seven programs. Regarding mobilization, Bhola states, "A mobilization subsystem is necessary but is often neglected" (1992:187). This is reflected in the graph which shows that only four out of seven programs planned for a mobilization subsystem. The subsystems that were given the most emphasis in the planning stage in the programs were ideological, policy and planning, programming and curriculum development, media and materials, and training. The subsystems that are particularly weak are mobilization, post-literacy, and evaluation.

The analysis of these seven SIL programs included charting the various individuals and institutions involved in each subsystem. A compilation of this information is contained in Charts 5 and 6. These charts illustrate the point made by Bhola that an effective literacy system is often large in size and scope. The charts include the government, NGO, translator or literacy worker, community, teachers, students, and local church. These charts are by no means exhaustive, but give an adequate picture of the entities involved in a literacy program. When the charts are examined, either in actual numbers of entities involved (Chart 5) or as a percentage (Chart 6) there are significant variations.

Generally, the government is not heavily involved in SIL programs. One exception is in its involvement in the policy and planning subsystem for some programs. Extensive communication between the government and SIL does not normally take place in local village programs. In many cases, the government is informed but not directly involved in the literacy program. The NGO plays an important role in some of the subsystems. Their strongest influence comes in the planning of the subsystems most crucial for the set-up of a literacy program.

The translator or literacy worker is the one most heavily involved in all aspects of the program. One reason for this is that he or she is the person who deals with all levels of communication from the government to the people in the village. The subsystems in which the translator or literacy worker is most active are programming and curriculum development and media and materials subsystems. Following that are the ideological, policy and planning, and the evaluation subsystems. Another reason the translator or literacy worker is highly involved in these particular subsystems is that they require academic expertise, and due to the focus of his or her training he or she would feel more comfortable with these areas.

Community involvement is apparent in some of the programs and hopefully will be expanded over time. Community involvement in subsystems, such as mobilization and teaching-learning, may prove very beneficial to the on-going success of the programs. The teachers are basically concerned with the subsystem that directly affects them, that is, the teaching-learning subsystem. There are programs where the teachers are taking some of the responsibility for their own advancement. It is interesting to note that the students are not highly involved in any of these subsystems. This is an indication that the programs may need to work on including the students in some of the subsystems to make the total literacy system more effective at the grassroots level. Involvement and feedback from students is the most effective way to continue to meet felt needs and to evaluate if they are being met. Though lacking in many of these programs, local church involvement is significant for a number of reasons. First, PNG has a strong spiritual emphasis both in society and in government, so it is quite natural for the churches to be involved in literacy programs. Second, the church is often the center for activities in a community, and church facilities may be used for literacy classes. Third, the local church may be the institution that initiated the request for a literacy program.

This analysis is not complete by any means. It does, however, illustrate certain trends and patterns both in how Bhola's system fits into SIL programs and in pointing out the strengths and weaknesses in SIL programs.

7. Discussion

It is clear from the data and the analysis that Bhola's total literacy system can be applied effectively to literacy projects and programs sponsored by an NGO. The total literacy system is comprehensive enough that, used as a tool to plan a literacy program, it allows for adaptations to accommodate the unique qualities of individual projects and programs.

In light of the fact that this system is being explored from a slightly different perspective than Bhola, that is, being outside the government with a different emphasis, some modifications to the total literacy system seem appropriate. A public relations subsystem would be beneficial for NGOs or any other outside organizations attempting to set up literacy programs. The public relations subsystem should be singled out as a separate subsystem, because it is so crucial to establishing credibility with the people, institutions, and government. The literacy programs that are the most effective in this study are the ones which actively sought out government officials, community and church leaders, and local institutions and then established positive relationships with them long before they began their literacy programs. Keeping people informed from the village to the provincial offices laid a foundation of mutual trust and cooperation. Normally, in SIL, the organization plays a major role in public relations, but in the cases of programs C, E, and F the translators or literacy workers themselves developed public relations with the people. This aspect of their work played a key role in the success of their literacy programs.

Literacy work can benefit tremendously from effective, carefully planned, and focused public relations. Programs that cited strong public relations as an active component also showed program stamina and marked enthusiasm. Public relations not only spreads literacy awareness, but it can add directly to program professional development and support as networking expands to reach all levels of function. Team E reported their provincial leaders had heard of the success of mother tongue prep school children in primary school in the North Solomons, East New Britain, and East Sepik. The provincial Minister of Education had been apprised of literacy work by Team E in his mother tongue. Team E was asked to help organize a pilot program for the entire province.

Another area neglected in Bhola's system was that of ownership by the people. Much was said in his book about ownership in terms of the government, i.e., national, provincial, and local. However, it is not the contention of this article to consider the ownership by the national government of a program to be synonymous with ownership by the people. This is especially true in a country as diverse as PNG. Literacy programs differ greatly from one community to another depending on a variety of outside factors. Literacy must be relevant to the people, or it will not happen. The government having a program does not necessarily make it relevant at the local level. There is a pattern of higher success rates among NGOs in their literacy programs. It is most likely due to the fact that they work at the local level, and they address the felt needs of the people.

The existing subsystems all seem to be critical to a healthy literacy program. As seen in the analysis of the charts, the healthiest programs (C, E, F) contained every subsystem, not only in planning but also in implementation of the program. Timing would be the relevant factor in determining which subsystem is more critical than the others. From this standpoint, each subsystem would be the most critical at different times in the course of the program. At the beginning of a program, the subsystems involved in setting up a program would be most critical, such as, ideological, mobilization, policy and planning, curriculum development and training. Once a program is under way the most critical subsystems would be teaching-learning, mobilization, media and materials, and evaluation. Of course, this could change due to the needs in a specific program or to any number of outside factors. It is important to keep in mind that these subsystems overlap and work best in conjunction with one another.

The data shows that the presence of all subsystems indicates a healthy or effective literacy program. But it would be difficult to determine if all the subsystems are **necessary** for a healthy program without further study. Program F is an example of an effective literacy program that has planned for all the subsystems but is not fully implementing them. Program B gives the indication that it is on the way to becoming an effective program, but it is too early for a definitive conclusion since this program is only beginning. Also, a number of outside factors are impeding progress, i.e., isolated location, lack of motivation among the people, and lack of community cooperation among themselves.

As noted earlier, there was a pattern to the subsystems missing in the unhealthy programs and the fledgling programs. Some serious consequences could arise if these subsystems are not incorporated. If mobilization is not implemented, the people will not attend. Motivation is a key factor in any learning situation, and if it is not maintained or enhanced people lose interest and drop out. This applies to teachers also. If they are not motivated they will lose interest in teaching literacy. The lack of this subsystem would most likely result in a dying program. The consequences of neglecting the post-literacy subsystem would be an end to a literacy program. Plans must be made for the continuation of literacy in a community in the initial stages to ensure on-going literacy. It is not a one-time activity; literacy is a lifetime activity. To keep a literacy program alive, appropriate materials and institutions must be implemented and established into it. Evaluation should be on-going, not just an exercise at the end of a program. With proper evaluation by individuals at all levels continuously throughout the program, one sees a program that remains relevant and appropriate for the people. The consequences of omitting this subsystem would be a lack of improvement or adaptation in the program and a program that becomes obsolete or stagnant.

7.1 Other factors

Through personal interviews with the teams presented in this article, the presence of other factors was seen to affect the health of a literacy program. These factors can be historical, social, political, economic, or cultural by nature of definition. These factors fell into two broad categories which had either a positive or negative influence on the literacy development. The positive factors will be addressed first.

Several teams reported that programs were initiated due to community requests for reading skills that people could then apply to reading Scripture. The presence of an active local church supported the desire for Scripture reading. Socially, the elders and the pastors in the church wanted to be able to read mother tongue Scripture aloud during the church services. Women also asked for reading in order to participate in ladies fellowship Bible studies.

Programs that are healthy today began early on with strong feelings of local ownership. Teams C and E credited establishment of a local committee by the village leaders, **not** the translator or literacy specialists, as an initial step towards community ownership. Each committee was locally organized with members designated through traditional leadership appointment. The SIL translator and literacy workers were appointed to the team by the village elders. Group consensus formulated goals and policy. Program planning and development were carried out through the committee. Teacher selection was the responsibility of village elders. Teacher or supervisor training was delegated to SIL. The teachers became sources for curriculum design and program evaluation. The people themselves took ownership for the material's content and preparation. While not every team in the study reported this depth of local ownership, each team noted a direct relationship between the health of the literacy program and the degree of local ownership perceived.

The location of a community school in the area was considered to be beneficial to literacy program growth and interest. Networking and literacy awareness support were available. Team F reported the presence of the local school gradually led to the development of an effective adult women's literacy program. Mothers wanted to help their children with their work to encourage school progress. The program had addressed children's literacy needs. The presence of a local community school can stir families to desire mother tongue education for their children prior to entering school. The school presence also has been seen to stimulate adult literacy. The location of a school within reasonable distance to a community-based literacy program can be an effective contributor to program strength.

During the mid 1980s a crop-killing frost precipitated famine among the people working with Team C. The team responded through humanitarian efforts. As a result a large scale food air lift was organized. The team's response to a naturally caused health and economic crisis brought deep bonding and trust to relationships with the people. Positive relationships such as this could normally take years to develop. Positive on-going cooperation generated through the situation response spurred interest for working together in a mutually beneficial atmosphere. The climate of mutual cooperation carried over to help set the stage for a vigorous literacy program.

Meeting expressed felt needs was shown to strengthen literacy programs in several team efforts. Team C began a health clinic to care for pressing basic physical problems, and people were trained to assist. Pre-existing economic needs provided Team E with an avenue for developing adult literacy. The team worked with community leaders to organize evening classes in bookkeeping, accounting, and managerial skills. Curriculum and lesson activities were built around an interest to learn these skills. Team F responded through a community development project. Men were taught saw mill and construction skills. Some of the men were trained in supervision.

Up to this point, positive factors have been addressed. Other factors exist that negatively affect literacy programs. A local community school closure has drastic implications. A school closing can precipitate loss of drive and motivation within the community. Team A stated a school closure had a direct negative effect upon the planned children's prep school program. The school closed due to lack of teachers. There was now nowhere for the children in the prep school to go the following year. The community leaders canceled the literacy program. The impact of the local institution's demise directly affected the literacy program.

Literacy goals that are unrealistic or unclear can discourage motivation. The literacy goal can be overshadowed by the desire to learn to read to gain employment. Increase in job skill development, when perceived as a goal for attainment of reading skills, has built-in dangers. This is especially true in Papua New Guinea where few jobs are available and wages are low. Young men who become literate often move to town for jobs only to become discouraged when unemployed. Parents then become angry because the goal of reading to obtain a job was invalid. The dream of literacy as a means for employment is best left out of program goals and literacy promotion plans. Literacy curriculum that fails to respect and affirm traditional culture in curriculum can be detrimental to self worth of the individual and cohesiveness of a people. Clear, accurate literacy needs must be expressed in understandable goals. Team G had unclear program goals that contributed to a breakdown in communication and ultimately the end of the program.

Geographical location of a language group was seen to have significant impact. Isolation impedes literacy awareness and interest. This has been a major factor in the programs of teams A and B. Communication with people from other areas is restricted due to difficulty reaching the areas. Isolated groups contend with issues such as decision making, committee process, and networking (Havelock and Huberman 1977:54). Location holds serious aspects to be considered in relation to program planning for effective literacy. Team A found isolation to be detrimental to literacy promotion. Little news was shared with outsiders, and the need for reading was perceived to be very weak. Awareness of reading value was slow to emerge and is in the initial stage in both Teams A and

B. Transportation is also limited which directly affects access to materials and resources. Government support and involvement is almost nonexistent due to the isolation of these language groups.

Effective literacy programs happen best when people want to learn to read. The attitudes people have affect motivation and cooperation. Literacy must be relevant. Because literacy in the vernacular was not a felt need among the people, the program developed by team G was not relevant to the community. Team G cited lack of interest for reading as a cause of program failure.

Funding sources have also been reported to be a factor contributing to program demise. Team B stated a marked change in people's motivation, ownership, and cooperation when the government stepped in to partially fund literacy. People lost the incentive of working for a goal and were content to let the government do the work. Trust for the government payment is weak, because teachers have been known to go without salaries for months. Dissatisfaction and disappointment can lead to anger which stifles ambition and willingness to learn.

7.2 SIL's role in Bhola's system

Evaluation of subsystem responsibilities shows that SIL, as an organization, fulfills certain aspects of some subsystems. The team member contributes complementary aspects as needed to complete the whole system. As an NGO a policy statement and clarification must be prepared that meets national directives and allows for team freedom to state local policy. As an institution working within Papua New Guinea, SIL leaders work to strengthen institutional aspects of the organization. The teams work within that structure.

Mobilization efforts reach across well-established networks throughout the country at all levels with national level public relations within the domain of the leadership. The authors of this article want to encourage the leadership of SIL to broaden their training of members in public relations.

Professional support is continually developed by the leadership for the mutual benefit of both organization and team members. Workshops are frequently sponsored by SIL for national professional development. Regional classes reach multi-language groups with writer's workshops and teacher training. Team members also contribute professional development at the community level.

Consultants work to develop expertise within media and materials. As NGO funds are available to contribute to exploration and pioneering in use of print and non-print media, they are used to promote and plan for literacy. Team members access findings for application to the local level projects and programs. Experts also work to research and implement evaluation at all levels. It is suggested that SIL provide more extensive training to team members in the evaluation subsystem. Evaluation covers a broad area and is a valuable contributor to literacy program effectiveness and health.

8. Conclusion

This article has addressed the application of Bhola's total literacy system to a sampling of literacy programs under the direction of an NGO, namely SIL. Despite the fact that a wide variation within individual programs was discovered, there were some common components across the programs. These components can be identified with Bhola's eleven subsystems. The analysis shows that the most effective programs contain all eleven subsystems indicating that his system is fairly complete and applicable to all literacy programs. In the healthiest programs all subsystems overlap and work in conjunction with each other.

For study beyond the scope of this article the following areas merit attention:

- What is the relationship between community development and an effective literacy program?
- What is the effect of mother tongue literacy on local institutions and organizations?
- How does effective mother tongue children's literacy impact formal education curriculum?
- How have new roles developed in literacy programs affected traditional society?
- How do traditional leadership styles affect literacy planning and evaluation?

Further in-depth study of each subsystem would be beneficial to the credibility of this system in various literacy programs. Testing the completeness of this system with a larger sampling of programs through surveys and observation would help verify the results of this study. These topics and questions arose in the course of the interviews and were confirmed as relevant during our post-interview evaluation.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Interview

Background information (variables)

1. Name of translator
2. Name of language group
3. Location
4. Size of language group
5. Length of time in program?
6. Was there a prior team? Another NGO?

Ideology

1. What is the underlying purpose or goal of your literacy program?
2. In your understanding, what are the national goals for literacy?
3. a) Is anyone else involved in the planning of the literacy program? (government, local committee, etc.)
   b) What is their purpose for the program?
4. Are the goals of this program clear to others?

Policy and planning

1. Who establishes the policies of your program?
2. Is it clearly defined?
3. Have limitations or requirements been set by outsiders? (funders, etc.)
4. Are you working with community schools?
5. Do you have a definition for functional literacy for your program?
6. How are priorities set in your program? (who? when?)
7. Were new roles created in your program? (i.e., preschool teachers, supervisors, bookkeepers, writers, and artists)
8. From where are you obtaining educational resources? (local or outside)
9. What kind of technology have you planned to use or are using?

Organizational and institutional

1. What institutional structures already exist? (church, school, community development, aid posts)

2. Which institutions will be affected by your program? How?
3. Is your program being set up the way you had planned?
4. Have you made any ongoing changes in the plan? If so, by whom?
5. What do you have sustain your literacy program? (print shop, library, etc.)
6. Do you have a local advisory committee to deal with problems? Who is on it?
7. Are you working in conjunction with the formal education system?
8. What is your time frame for classes?

Mobilization

1. Who attends literacy classes?
2. What motivates them?
3. How do you plan to motivate others? What has been successful?
4. How has the program impacted individuals? (including teachers)

Professional support

1. Are other professionals involved in this program? How are they involved?
2. How do they contribute to the program?
3. Are you current in what's happening in literacy education? Do you receive professional materials?
4. Is it necessary to have a professional network you can contact?
5. What input have other professionals given to your program?

Programming and curriculum development

1. How was your curriculum developed?
2. What/who influenced the decisions?
3. Who else worked on curriculum development? (local, regional, and national)
4. What aspects of the curriculum introduce changes in the local culture?
5. Is community development (economic development) a major goal or objective in your curriculum? In what practical ways will you meet this objective?

Media and materials

1. Are women reflected in your materials?
2. How do you acquire your materials? (locally, outside)
3. What materials do you use?
4. Is any other media available for the literacy program? (i.e., radio, video, cassette tapes, film, or slides)

Training

1. Who needs training in addition to teachers?
2. Who chooses the teachers to be trained?
3. Describe the training. (length of time, etc.)
4. What qualifications do you and the community require of teachers?
5. What responsibilities should a teacher be trained for besides teaching?

Teaching-learning

1. Are the teachers enthusiastic about the content of the curriculum?
2. Do they show interest in self-improvement?
3. How do the teachers motivate their students?
4. How do the teachers respond to the pressures of village and program expectations?
5. Do teachers interact with village leaders? (liaison)

Post-literacy

1. What plans are there for ongoing learning and literacy?
2. Has a library, print shop, etc. been developed to ensure continuation in literacy?

Evaluation

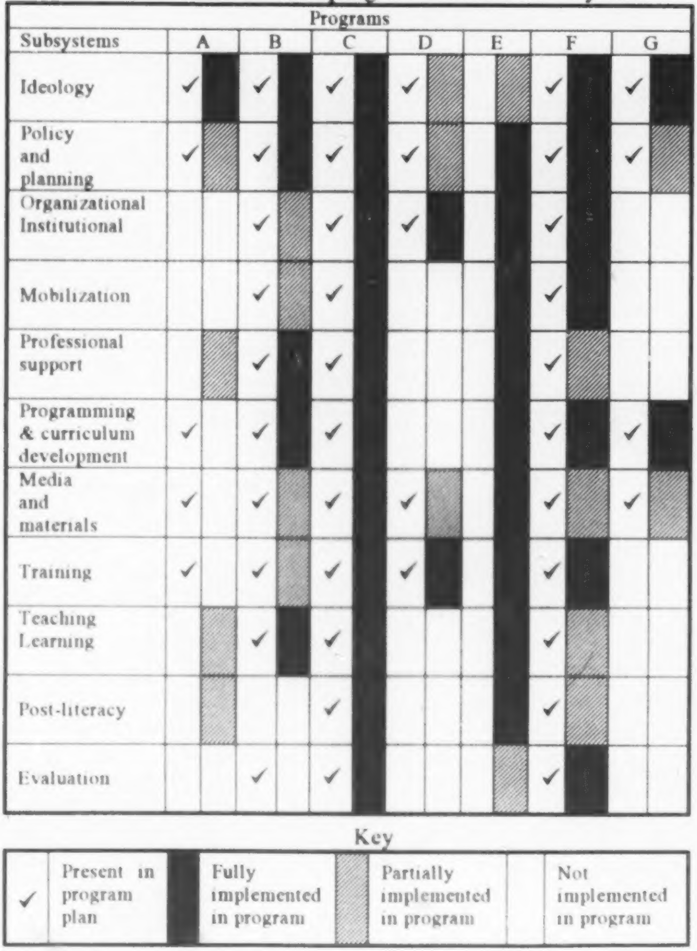
1. Was a needs-assessment made prior to literacy?
2. Were the goals achieved?
3. How has your program been evaluated? By whom? (students, teachers, supervisors, branch, government, or funders)
4. What impact has the literacy program had on the community? (women)
5. What parts of the program have been evaluated? How?

Appendix B. Charts

Chart 1. Background information

Background Information				
Literacy program	Size	Years in program	Prior literacy exposure	Target group
A	3,500	2	yes	adults
B	2,500	5	no	children
C	35,000	5	yes	children
D	7,000	22	yes	children
E	6,000	8	yes	children and adults
F	9,000-10,000	9	yes	women and children
G	2,200	14	no	adults and children

Chart 2. SIL programs and Bhola's system



	Programs													
Subsystems	A		B		C		D		E		F		G	
Ideology	✓	■	✓	■	✓	■	✓	▨		▨	✓	■	✓	■
Policy and planning	✓	▨	✓	■	✓	■	✓	▨		■	✓	■	✓	▨
Organizational Institutional			✓	▨	✓	■	✓	■		■	✓	■		
Mobilization			✓	▨	✓	■				■	✓	■		
Professional support		▨	✓	■	✓	■				■	✓	▨		
Programming & curriculum development	✓		✓	■	✓	■				■	✓	■	✓	■
Media and materials	✓		✓	▨	✓	■	✓	▨		■	✓	▨	✓	▨
Training	✓		✓	▨	✓	■	✓	■		■	✓	■		
Teaching Learning		▨	✓	■	✓	■				■	✓	▨		
Post-literacy		▨			✓	■				■	✓	▨		
Evaluation			✓		✓	■				▨	✓	■		

Key

✓	Present in program plan	■	Fully implemented in program	▨	Partially implemented in program		Not implemented in program

Chart 3. Correlation of subsystems and current status of programs

Program	Number of subsystems present	Current status of program
G	4	never actually established; no longer functioning
D	5	not autonomous; integrated in established education system
A	7	not fully planned; recently initiated; struggling
B	9	recently initiated; still getting started
F	11	well established; on-going
E	11	well established; on-going
C	11	well established; on-going

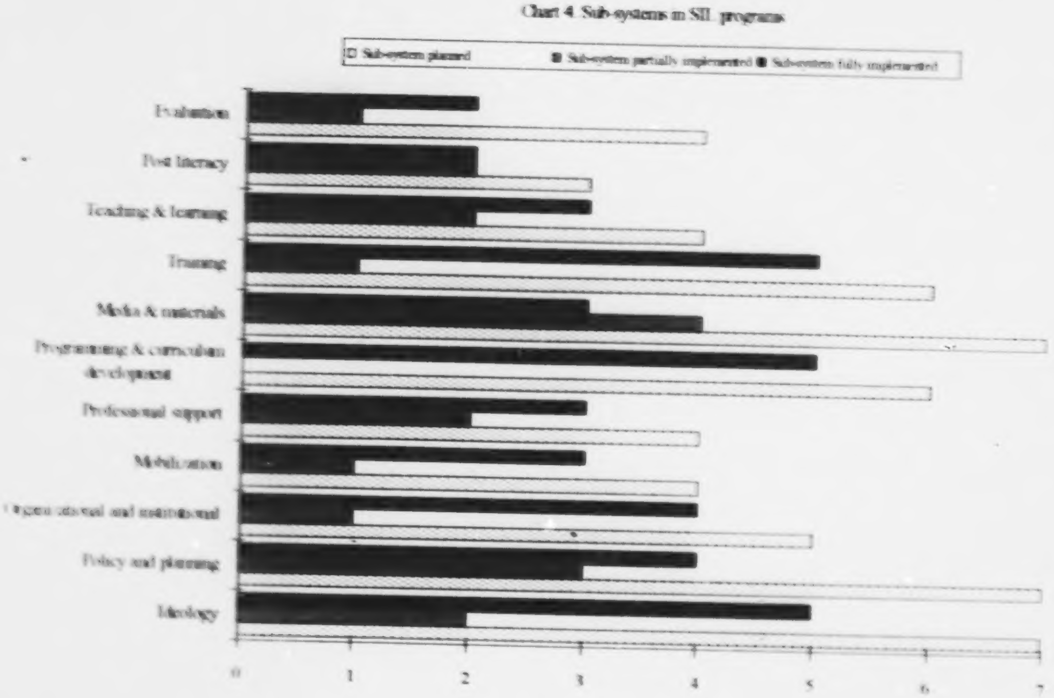


Chart 4. Subsystems in SIL programs

Chart 5. Group involvement by subsystem (planning and direct involvement)

Chart 5. Group involvement by sub-system (planning and direct involvement)

	Groups involved in program													
	Government		N.G.O.		Translator Literacy		Community		Teachers		Students		Local church	
Sub-system	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I
Ideology	1	2	4	4	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3
Policy & planning	3	4	4	3	5	6	4	4	1	0	0	0	1	2
Organizational Institutional	3	3	5	4	4	5	4	2	1	2	0	0	2	3
Mobilization	1	0	3	1	4	3	4	4	0	3	0	0	2	3
Professional support	3	1	6	3	4	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
Programming & curriculum development	1	0	2	3	6	7	4	2	3	3	0	0	2	2
Media & materials	1	0	3	2	7	7	4	2	3	3	0	0	2	2
Training	0	1	3	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	0	0	1	2
Teaching Learning	0	0	1	1	2	3	4	4	4	5	0	2	1	2
Post-literacy	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	0	0	1	1
Evaluation	2	2	3	3	5	6	5	2	3	3	1	1	2	1

Key: P = involved in planning I = direct involvment

Chart 6. Percent group involvement by subsystem (planning and direct involvement)

Chart 6. Percent group involvement by sub-system (planning and direct involvement)

	Groups involved in program													
	Government		N.G.O.		Translator Literacy		Community		Teachers		Students		Local church	
Sub-system	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I
Ideology	14	29	57	57	86	71	57	43	29	14	0	14	29	43
Policy & planning	43	57	57	43	71	86	57	57	14	0	0	0	14	29
Organizational Institutional	43	43	71	57	57	71	57	29	14	29	0	0	29	43
Mobilization	14	0	43	14	43	57	57	57	0	43	0	0	29	43
Professional support	43	14	86	43	57	57	14	14	0	0	0	0	14	43
Programming & curriculum development	14	0	29	43	86	100	57	29	43	43	0	0	29	29
Media & materials	14	0	43	29	100	100	57	29	43	29	0	0	29	14
Training	0	14	43	43	43	57	57	43	43	43	0	0	14	29
Teaching Learning	0	0	14	14	29	43	57	57	57	71	0	29	14	29
Post-literacy	14	14	29	43	43	43	43	43	92	43	0	0	14	14
Evaluation	29	29	43	43	71	86	71	29	43	43	14	14	29	14

Key: P = involved in planning I = direct involvment

Announcement

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Sheltered Instruction for Language Minority Populations

Ronald J. Anderson

Ron Anderson is a former editor of Notes on Literacy and literacy specialist from the Peru Branch of SIL. *He currently teaches fifth-graders in Escondido and graduate students at United States International University and at National University in San Diego, California.*

When working as a bilingual education specialist in Peru, I found that some villages were good candidates for bilingual instruction because few children were bilingual in Spanish. Other villages, however, were judged to be sufficiently bilingual to not need bilingual instruction. Primary education in these villages was taught in Spanish, while SIL and native writers produced native-language materials for adult literacy. In many countries, bilingual education is not feasible, but governments still see education for language minority students to be a challenge. International literacy specialists will increase their effectiveness if they add expertise in sheltered instruction to their repertoire of skills. The following paper by Judy Law is a good introduction.

In California, children who learn enough English to "transition out" of a bilingual classroom often fall behind academically. Cummins (1980) observed that students learning English could acquire basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) in about two years, but it took several more years before they displayed the cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) necessary to be successful in regular academic classes. This observation led educators to look for ways to increase the CALP of language minority students to better prepare them for the requirements of "mainstream" classrooms. Special "sheltered" curricula were developed by theorists and practitioners to meet this challenge.

Courses in sheltered instruction are now offered in teacher education programs in California, and it is difficult for a new teacher to get a job without having taken one of these courses. As language minority students become an ever increasing presence in schools, the demand for sheltered instruction is increasing.

Sheltered instruction is also known by other names. Krashen (1982) refers to it as subject matter instruction; Faltis (1993) calls it content-based English language teaching (CELT); and Chamot and O'Malley (1994) call it language-sensitive instruction. Acronyms associated with sheltered instruction are SDAIE and CALLA.

Sheltered instruction is not a "watering down" of the curriculum; it is adapted to match the needs of the students in the classroom. Students are presented content (math, science, reading, writing, and social studies) according their grade level, but the teacher will select what content topics to emphasize. Academic language development is always in focus. The second language is not taught as a separate subject, but it is used for instruction. Vocabulary building is an important part of all lessons. Language is presented in context as the teacher makes use of visuals, manipulatives, and cooperative learning. Sometimes the teacher will rewrite materials to simplify syntactic complexity.

Sheltered instruction is based on solid pedagogical principles. I have become accustomed to using it for teaching both fifth-graders and graduate students. School administrators tell me that they would like all of their teachers to use sheltered instruction methods or techniques for their mainstream students. In almost any educational context, this approach could increase the effectiveness of teachers. Judy Law's paper and the references at the end of it provide a good starting point for those wanting to increase their expertise. I look forward to hearing from literacy specialists from around the world who have implemented sheltered instruction.

Sheltered Instruction: An Introduction

Judy Law

1. A growing need

An ever increasing number of immigrants from diverse social, economic, and educational backgrounds are entering the United States and Canada each year. This influx has had a profound effect on education as it has brought extensive numbers of limited English proficiency (LEP) students into the schools. Some of these students arrive in class knowing no English; others come with limited skills (Wagstaff 1991). In California, the minority student population has increased four times faster than general enrollment. Nearly all classes have LEP students, but not all the teachers have had training to equip them to work with LEP students (Berman 1992).

School systems nationwide have had to find ways to meet the needs of the growing numbers of LEP students. One approach that has proved effective in many situations is the implementation of sheltered instruction programs. The purpose of this article is to give an overview of sheltered instruction. The major areas addressed are the theoretical framework of sheltered instruction and teaching techniques.

2. Definitions

The terminology used when discussing sheltered instruction varies greatly and at times causes confusion. Before beginning a discussion of sheltered instruction, it is important to be familiar with the terms that are relevant to this study.

1. PRIMARY LANGUAGE: A primary language is a student's first or native language (Weinhouse 1986).

2. TARGET LANGUAGE: A target language is the language that a student needs to learn.

3. ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (ESL): People who live in an English-speaking country and for whom English is not the primary language learn English as a second language.

4. MAINSTREAMING: Students in a mainstream classroom receive instruction in English only. Other terms for mainstream are "grade-level" or "regular" classroom (Chamot and O'Malley 1994).

5. LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS: Linguistically, these students "constitute a minority in the general population relative to native speakers" (Chamot and O'Malley 1994:5) because they either do not use English as a first language or come from homes where a language other than English is spoken.

6. LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY STUDENT: A limited English proficiency (LEP) student has either no knowledge of English or skills that are insufficient enough to prohibit him or her from doing academic work in a mainstream classroom (Wagstaff 1991).

7. BILINGUAL INSTRUCTION: In a bilingual class, students receive instruction in basic skills in their primary language while they are learning the target language.

8. SHELTERED INSTRUCTION: The term sheltered instruction has several other names. When Krashen (1982) started doing research on it in the early 1980s, he referred to it as subject-matter instruction. Other names used are sheltered content teaching, content-based English language teaching (CELT) (Faltis 1993), and language-sensitive instruction (Chamot & O'Malley 1994). Numerous educators have offered definitions of sheltered instruction. Krashen has stated that "the sheltered class is a subject-matter class made comprehensible for the second-language student…A crucial characteristic of the sheltered class is that it is a real subject-matter class, not 'ESL maths', for example, or selections from subject matter introduced as part of the language class. Both

the focus and tests are on the subject matter " (1985:71). Weinhouse has referred to sheltered instruction as "a *methodology* for teaching LEP students as well as a *program* or *component* of a program designed for LEP students" (1987:7) when instruction in their first or primary language is not possible. Chung has stated that it "is an approach to teaching content material via English when it is not possible to use the native language" (1992:32). Chamot and O'Malley (1994) have proposed that sheltered instruction classes should be taught by a content teacher who uses specially adapted content-based materials and supplements to be sure that students, whose first language is not English, will be able to understand. Brown has suggested that sheltered instruction is a type of immersion program in which the students who come from diverse language backgrounds "combine content and language learning in every subject" (1994:126). When LEP students are in sheltered instruction classes, they are "sheltered" from the linguistic demands of the mainstream curriculum, yet they are still learning content and developing their language skills. There are several types of sheltered instruction programs. Those that merit examination are described below.

3. Theoretical framework

Canada preceded the United States in the development of immersion programs. The need for such a program became apparent when members of the French separatist movement began to hold public demonstrations to voice their discontent over their linguistic inequality. The English-speaking population finally recognized the fact that something needed to be done "to accommodate the special linguistic and cultural characteristics of the French community" (Genesee 1984:38). This prompted the establishment of the St. Lambert French immersion program in 1965.

The purpose of the St. Lambert French immersion program was:

1. to assure that students became functionally competent in both written and spoken French;
2. to continue the language development of English-speaking students;
3. to make sure that students performed at grade level in all academic subjects;
4. to develop cultural sensitivity in the students with regard to the French Canadians, their language, and their culture without diminishing the value of the student's own English-Canadian culture.

As can be imagined, modifications have been made to this first model, but the concept of content-based second language instruction still remained. Lapkin and Cummins analyzed the direction that the French immersion programs had taken from 1965 to 1984. They noted several characteristics that were common to most programs.

1. Regular academic subjects were taught in the student's second language.
2. Students were not mixed in classes with students who were native speakers of the target language. They were in classes with other non-native speakers whose proficiency level was about the same as theirs.
3. Adapted materials, visual aides, and frequent comprehension checks were used to make sure that students understood the lessons.
4. The language experience approach was used to teach beginning reading rather than an approach using phonics.
5. Students learned language by interacting with meaningful content.
6. When students began the program, the emphasis was on learning vocabulary rather than on teaching grammar.
7. Classes were student-centered rather than teacher-centered with an emphasis placed on small group activities and discussions (Lapkin and Cummins 1984).

Cummins (1980) was well known in Canadian and American educational circles for his work with the development of the French immersion program and for his ideas on cognitive theory. His findings have had a significant impact on many important theorists in the field of second language acquisition. In his research, he found that students could acquire BASIC INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATIVE SKILLS (BICS) and be able to communicate in most social situations in about two years; however, it required five to seven years to develop the language skills necessary to be successful at doing academic work in mainstream content classes. Cummins called the kinds of language skills necessary for doing academic work COGNITIVE ACADEMIC LANGUAGE SKILLS (CALP). He postulated that if a student had developed CALP in his first language, then he or she should be able to attain CALP in a second language. For students who had little or no formal education, learning could be difficult because they lacked CALP in their first language.

Krashen, an American second language theorist, took note of the success of the French immersion programs in Canada and subsequently drew on their ideas in formulating his own second language acquisition theories and practices. He began his own theoretical work on content-based instruction in the early 1980s at the University of Southern California (Faltis 1993). A colleague of Krashen's, Tracy Terrell, proposed a new approach to language teaching called the Natural Approach. Krashen and Terrell underscore the importance of meaning and emphasize vocabulary, saying that if a message in a target language is not understood, then language acquisition will not take place (Krashen and Terrell 1983).

Krashen and Terrell advocate sheltered content instruction. They also believe that language and content learning cannot be separated. In fact, Krashen states that "subject matter teaching, when it is comprehensible, is language teaching, because it provides comprehensible input" (1991:183). He also suggests three characteristics sheltered subject matter courses should have. First, native English-speaking students should be excluded from sheltered subject matter classes because this will make it easier for the teacher to ensure that the input is comprehensible. Second, sheltered subject matter classes should focus on learning the subject matter and not on promoting language development. Content is more important than learning language rules. Tests should also deal with subject matter and not be language tests. Third, there should be frequent comprehension checks so that teachers can know if they need to adjust the input. They should also make use of extra-linguistic information such as realia, pictures, objects, and body language to assure that information is comprehensible to all students.

Chamot and O'Malley examined the findings of Cummins and other cognitive theorists and were inspired to look for ways in which LEP students could be helped to become more academically successful. After considerable research and study, they concluded that the curriculum for LEP students needed to include academic content, academic language development, and instruction in learning strategies. To address these needs, they developed the COGNITIVE ACADEMIC LANGUAGE LEARNING APPROACH (CALLA), which operates on the following theoretical framework.

1. Learning is an active and dynamic process.
2. There are three types of knowledge: declarative (knowledge of facts), procedural (knowledge of "how" to do things), metacognitive (relate current learning tasks to past knowledge and learning procedures).
3. Declarative and procedural knowledge are learned in different ways and retrieved from memory in different ways.
4. Teachers should learn to recognize declarative and procedural knowledge in content materials, identify strategies used by students, and influence strategy use.
5. Students can take control of their own learning and develop independent learning skills (Chamot and O'Malley 1994:19).

Chamot and O'Malley have detailed several benefits that LEP students receive when they are in content courses. In particular, content-based courses provide students with the information they need to help them reach and maintain grade level. In addition, they give students an opportunity to "practice the skills and processes needed in content areas", and they offer a situation where they can practice using learning strategies (1994:28). Finally, content is, without question, more interesting to learn than just language.

4. Teaching techniques

It is not easy to instruct people whose language proficiency is limited. However, numerous procedures and activities have been developed in recent years that help teachers operate sheltered classes more effectively. Some of the most frequently used strategies and techniques employed in sheltered classes are described below.

4.1 Extra-linguistic cues

Just as messages can come in many nonverbal forms, so learning can take place apart from the spoken or written word. The use of extra-linguistic cues can be very helpful in assuring that students are able to understand important content that they cannot access through verbal means. Some of the most frequently used extra-linguistic cues are visual aids, props, body language, demonstrations, hands-on experiences, and manipulatives such as might be used in math class (Krashen 1985). Teachers should also learn to read the extra-linguistic cues of their students (Lykke 1988).

4.2 Linguistic modifications

When teaching LEP students, it is important for teachers to slow their speech rate and to speak clearly and distinctly. Pauses, repetitions, paraphrasing, explaining or simplifying vocabulary, and using short sentences are other helpful modifications. Using imperatives and basic verb tenses (simple present and simple past) is particularly helpful when working with beginning level students (Lykke 1988; Krashen 1985).

4.3 Cooperative learning

"Cooperative learning involves structuring the classroom so that students work together in small cooperative teams" (Weinhouse 1986). Students are active together in the learning and inquiry process and not just passive receivers of information. Peer pressure forces students to take part who may ordinarily sit silently and listen. In their groups, students may be asked to use critical thinking skills in discussing content, problem solving, or making decisions or plans. Once the activity is underway, the teacher should act as a facilitator giving help to groups when it is needed. At the end of the activity, there should be a debriefing session in which students tell their conclusions to the other class members (Weinhouse 1986; Chamot and O'Malley 1994).

4.4 Interactive lectures

Interactive lectures are a kind of cooperative activity in which the teacher delivers a lecture to students in segments. After each segment, there are several possible kinds of activities that can be done to check comprehension. For example, the students can work together in small groups to restate or restructure the information they have just heard by doing a sequencing, mapping, or outlining exercise.

4.5 Thinking skills

Developing critical thinking skills in a second language is difficult. Fortunately, one of the principal benefits of content-based instruction is that it gives students an opportunity to develop these skills. Reading and writing activities teach critical thinking and organizational skills such as outlining, mapping and clustering, sorting, categorizing, sequencing, elaboration, association, analogizing, problem solving, and decision-making (Weinhouse 1986).

4.6 Vocabulary development

Sheltered instruction integrates content and language instruction. A key link in this process is vocabulary. Numerous vocabulary items that students need to learn are subject-specific. This type of vocabulary cannot be simplified; it has to be explained and learned.

Before moving into an activity, teachers should present new vocabulary items in a prereading or prelistening activity that acquaints students with the vocabulary that they may not know. These activities should present the word "in context" so that students can see and hear how it is used. Students should also be encouraged to look and listen for context clues which will help them guess the meanings of words that they do not know.

4.7 Modifications to instructional materials

Every teacher at some point has rewritten or adapted materials to suit the level or focus of his or her class. Regrettably, there are times when this has to be done. It may be necessary to bring in materials from other sources, write worksheets or summary sheets, rewrite chapters, paraphrase a text, or shorten or simplify exercises. In all of these modifications, the important principle to keep in mind is that they should focus on central concepts rather than details.

5. Conclusion

Undoubtedly, there is a lot of work that is yet to be done in the field of sheltered instruction, but great progress has been made since the inception of the French immersion program in 1965. In spite of whatever inadequacies seem to exist, language minority students are learning language while studying content, and the methods of instruction used are providing students with the language skills they need to function in the classroom and in the world.

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NOTES ON LITERACY

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Literacy and Development: Creating Linkages for SIL Programs

Ian Mowatt

Ian has worked until recently in Kenya under the national bible translation organization, Bible Translation and Literacy, as the community development consultant. He is currently working in Horsleys Green, England in the Literacy and Development Liaison Unit (LDLU) with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).

1. Introduction

People need to be motivated to attend a literacy class. There are many instances where people have said to SIL staff that they would like to come to class, but their stomachs are empty and how can they learn when they need food. We are all aware how difficult it is to concentrate on our work when we have real physical needs and concerns. By trying to take an integrated approach to development, we demonstrate to those we serve that we are concerned for them as a whole person.

More and more SIL field personnel are being drawn into community development. One cannot see the needs, both physical and spiritual, of those we serve and not address these needs. SIL's strength is in addressing the spiritual needs, but its weakness is in addressing the tangible needs. There is a fear that becoming involved in the area of physical needs would divert us from what is often seen as the primary role of Bible translation. Also, there are more and more people with a background in development who approach SIL.

We need to have a holistic ministry among those we serve. We need to give the people "the same opportunity that we had." Also, as literacy gathers momentum in any project, we need to address the perceived needs of the people through literacy. To do this requires us to produce appropriate materials such as those on animal husbandry and health issues. SIL must be involved in community development.

In light of the above it can be seen that SIL needs to develop a strategy for community development. Currently SIL has the Intercultural Development Service (IDS) based in the United States, but is this the best approach (i.e., having the main coordinating office based outside the continents where the needs are)? Is the right approach to have a centralized information gathering system that is internal to SIL?

I would like to present a strategy which would decentralize development coordination, make development consultants available to all entities, and promote cooperation with other agencies. It is a strategy that is outward looking.

2. Main development areas

The main areas of development that are of concern to communities and therefore to SIL are agriculture, environment, health, gender, economics, and organizational structure. These six main areas can be reduced to three by combining them as follows: *(1)* agriculture and environment, *(2)* health and gender, and *(3)* economic activities and local organizational development (non-governmental organizations). For each of the mentioned areas there would be an "expert" who would act as a consultant to each entity.

3. Assignment and role of experts

These experts would be assigned to the area office as consultants. Their role would involve them in an advisory role at area and entity level. They would be available to travel to each SIL entity to help in the area of community development. This would involve them in the following areas.

3.1 Entity level

- Develop a policy for community development
- Identify development agencies, both governmental and non-governmental (NGO)
- Identify possible funding sources, both governmental and non-governmental
- Help develop relationships and practical cooperation with all identified agencies
- Identify development resource materials available in the country

3.2 Local level

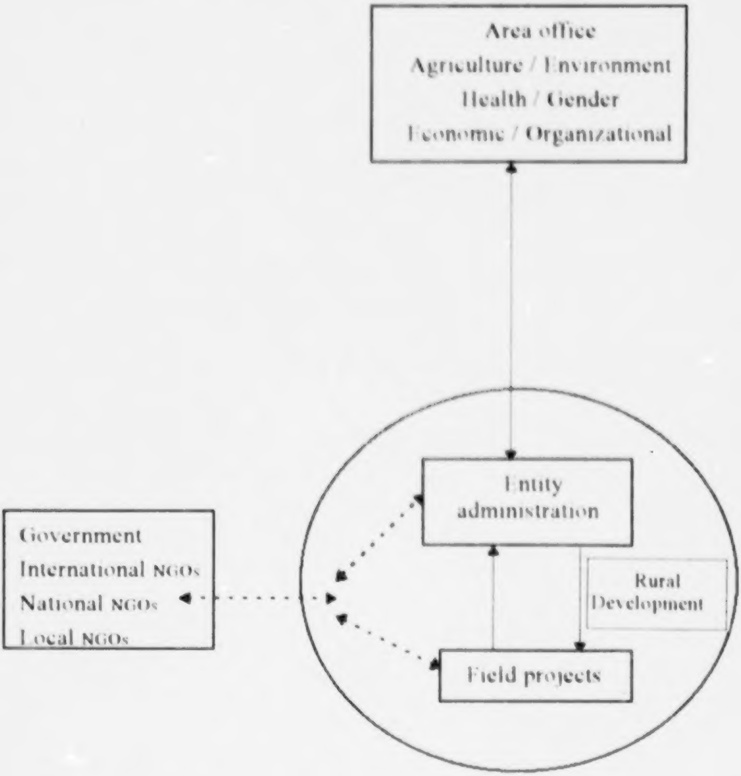
- Help each project develop its own community development strategy
- Help project staff identify other agencies in the area with whom they could cooperate
- Help project staff, and then in turn the local people, create linkages with these other agencies
- Help the project teams become more aware of materials which could be adapted or translated for use in literacy classes
- Help plan functional literacy programs
- Help project staff work better with the local people

One major reason for having a consultant come and help the entity is that one needs to demonstrate that SIL has the expertise available to integrate literacy with the communities needs in the key areas. In the same manner the consultant can help the entity relate to the various possible funding agencies. In relating to development agencies or individuals interested in assisting in funding, we need to be able to talk the "same language" and demonstrate a competence to do the work. Funding agencies and individuals will not finance a project if they feel that the project staff are not capable of fully implementing the proposed program.

At the local level one key role of the consultants would be helping project staff develop a more functional literacy program. A functional literacy program must have literacy materials which are relevant for that area. For example, one could produce literacy materials on health issues which may not be relevant for that particular project area.

The diagram on the following page sets out how the different relationships between the SIL area, SIL entities, field projects, and other agencies would work. The relationships between the entity administration and field projects should be set in the general context of rural development.

Graph 1. The relationships between entity administration and field projects in the context of rural development


Area office
Agriculture / Environment
Health / Gender
Economic / Organizational
Entity administration
Rural Development
Field projects
Government
International NGOs
National NGOs
Local NGOs

Perception of Eastern Indonesian Community Leaders Regarding Vernacular Reading Needs for Development

Dr. Joost J. J. Pikkert

Dr. Joost Pikkert is a literacy specialist in Indonesia. He earned his Ph.D. in education from the University of Nebraska.

1. Introduction

Community development is a multifaceted enterprise which mandates that certain foundational skills are in place upon which other skills can be built. Growing numbers of people are realizing that one of these foundational skills, the ability to read and write well, is linked to more than just higher wages. Literacy is often a primary factor not only in the degree of self-determination but also in the amount of influence and power people can exert to shape the character and direction of their communities (cf. Apple 1982; Graff 1987).

Minority language communities are often limited in their pursuit of fulfillment and empowerment because of their lack of fluency in a national language which leaves them at the mercy of those who possess greater national language literacy skills. It has been shown that indigenous groups that cannot speak a national language are found on the lowest level of society and generally are also on the fringes of the national economic life (Loos, Davis, and Wise 1981). It has also been proven that through the use of minority language literacy skills, communities can subsequently increase their proficiency in the national language (Williams 1994).

In addressing the need for greater attention to minority languages in Indonesia, Dr. Ayamiseba has urged the use of the local vernacular language in the first two to three years of schooling in Irian Jaya (Ayamiseba 1987). This plea comes in the light of evidence that economic improvements as a result of vernacular education has encouraged indigenous leadership within the community (Lake 1989). The tremendous impact that local language literacy is having has been corroborated by the testimonies gathered in recent Indonesian research. For example, "Some people have taken their books (in the vernacular language) and just sat down and taught other people with what they know about how to teach. We had one student who went to the area where his wife is from. People there are begging him to teach them the literacy course" (Lake 1989). Testimonials like this have been echoed in hundreds of minority language communities throughout South America and Africa where vernacular language programs have had a longer and more impressive history (Larson and Davis 1981; Afolayan and Bamgbose 1980).

Because Indonesia has a total of 672 languages (Grimes 1988) with a third of the population speaking unwritten languages, there remains a pressing need to develop a critical mass of literacy material that will facilitate the development of literacy in these languages. In their commitment to develop the hundreds of unique language communities in Indonesia, the Indonesian government has recently taken an approach that recognizes the following two fundamental concerns.

1. There is a need to upgrade education as evidenced in the May, 1994 conference on the middle school education in which basic education was extended from six years to nine years.
2. There is a need to sustain and nurture the local language in development as expressed in the Indonesian constitution which says that the government wishes to "maintain and highly appreciates the local languages of Indonesia" (Chapter 15, Article 36 of the Indonesian constitution).

It has been proven that a community's expectation, personal dignity, and self-esteem will rise when that community's language has been written and used for education (Loos, Davis, and Wise 1981). Aside from an increase in personal dignity and self-esteem, the use of a local language has also been proven to increase fluency when learning to read and write in a national language (Davis 1981;

Williams 1994). In the light of this research, Indonesia has recognized the value of using the local language in education as a key trait for the preservation of group unity, increasing the sense of identity for the individual, and promoting greater national language literacy as well (Wojowasito 1984; Rosidi 1984).

While the vision for minority language education has been kindled in Indonesia, its impact has been limited due to the lack of literacy materials in the local languages and hindered by the inflated prices of textbooks that are available. As Sukowaluyo (a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives) said, "Most people are beginning to recognize the importance of books and of acquiring good reading habits, but this growing awareness has not been supported by lower book prices" (*Jakarta Post*, May 10, 1994).

The driving force behind this project was to obtain baseline data for developing reading materials in the vernacular that will be appropriate to the needs and interests of the targeted communities.

2. Purpose of the study

The primary purpose of this study was to determine the perception of community leaders in Eastern Indonesia regarding vernacular reading needs within their communities. The study included communities in Irian Jaya, East Timor, South Sulawesi, East Nusa Tenggara, North Sulawesi, and Central Sulawesi. Several communities in Central Java were also surveyed to provide comparison data. Community leaders in Eastern Indonesia were chosen in order to obtain baseline information for use in developing vernacular reading material in Eastern Indonesia.

3. Research methodology

3.1 Participants

Since there is no adequate list of the populations in Eastern Indonesia, a multistage sampling technique was used in identifying the participants of the study. In keeping with survey research methods for jungle and remote places, area probability sampling techniques defined by geographical boundaries were used to include people from all the areas targeted for vernacular literature development. Surveys were distributed to personal contacts in the selected areas, who in turn distributed the surveys to community leaders. The final response rate included forty-five different cultural groups, twenty-five regencies, and seven provinces. Of 250 surveys sent out, 185 were returned allowing for a 74 percent return rate. Participants included 101 government employees in thirteen different government departments and eighty-four community leaders in the private sector. There were a total of thirty-six women and 149 men.

3.2 Focus groups

In order to prepare questions to be included in the questionnaire, a series of interviews were conducted by specialists and lay people of the different provinces involved in the research. Interviews were done in focal groups by province with an average of five participants in each focus group. The focus group was deemed most appropriate, because it allowed the researchers to probe as to the needs of the communities. Participants in the focus groups met together by geographical area and did not all know each other. The discussion centered on their perception of needs in their community and what kinds of reading materials they felt should be developed. On the basis of the brainstorming in these focus groups, the survey was developed.

3.3 Survey questionnaire

The survey questionnaire contained both a demographic section and a series of questions designed to measure community leaders perception of reading needs in the vernacular languages of their area. The section specifically addressed to measuring book needs consisted of eighty questions broken into the following subsections: health, agriculture and environment, kindergarten, elementary school, family, small business, general skills, and strengthening the community. Each subsection had a calculated reliability coefficient of .75 or higher. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement on a four point bipolar. A "1" indicated the respondent strongly agreed, a "2" indicated agreement, a "3" indicated disagreement, and a "4" indicated the respondent strongly disagreed with the statement.

The biographical section consisted of seventeen questions determining the professional, religious, and geographical background of the respondents. It also measured the perceived vernacular versus Indonesian language use within the respondent's local language area among men and women and some primary motivations for why people read in their local communities.

3.4 Analysis of data

The Statview statistical package by Abacus Concepts was used to analyze the data. Descriptive statistics were done with an ANOVA used to compare means and standard deviations between provinces on each of the questions in the survey. Fisher post-hoc tests were done to analyze which provinces were statistically different.

4. Findings and discussion

Of the eighty-three questions on the survey, there were only three that showed a statistical difference between men and women respondents. Women felt a greater need for information dealing with the purpose of school for children. Men's perception that people generally read for enjoyment was significantly higher ($p > .05$) than women, who did not perceive reading for enjoyment to be a high factor for motivating reading.

Government workers scored significantly higher ($p > .05$) than the private sector workers on perceiving a need for the following vernacular reading material:

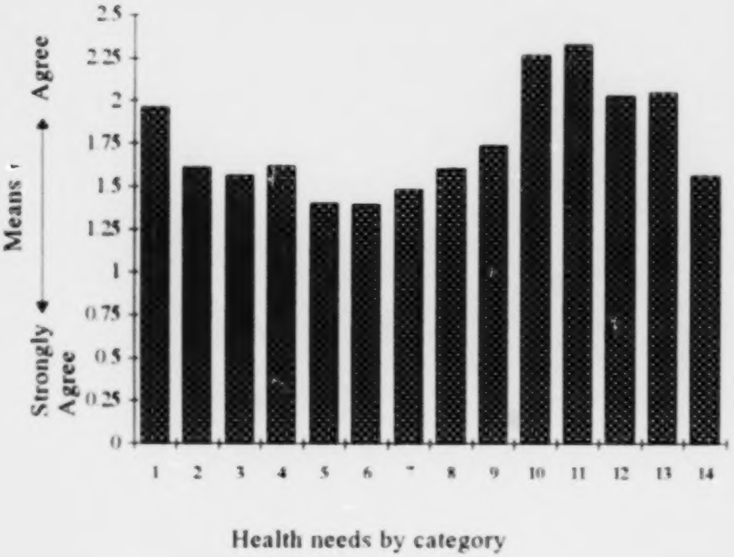
1. treating malaria
2. nutrition for pregnant mothers
3. using traditional medicine
4. preventing goiters
5. preparation for child birth
6. multicropping
7. how to make good fertilizer
8. mixed farming
9. ocean resource
10. treating animal diseases
11. use of the sugar palm
12. educational games
13. organizing a preschool
14. strategies for elementary education
15. understanding and applying *Pancasila* (the state philosophy)
16. cultures of Indonesia
17. what is the purpose of school for children
18. how to build a house
19. how to build a cupboard

4.1 Health reading needs

The perceived needs felt for reading material related to the broad category of health concerns rated higher than all the other categories. The overall perceived health needs defined from those most strongly felt to those least perceived as needed are as follows: *(a)* nutrition for pregnant mothers, *(b)* creating a healthy environment, *(c)* infant nutrition, *(d)* treating malaria, *(e)* preparing for child birth, *(f)* first aid, *(g)* using traditional medicine, *(h)* how disease spreads, *(i)* skin diseases, *(j)* how to prevent goiters, *(k)* how to prevent gout, *(l)* treating tropical ulcers, *(m)* sexually transmitted diseases, and *(n)* AIDS. Graph 1 below compares the means. A statistical description by province for each of the graphs that follow can be seen in the Appendix. When examining interprovince differences, it appears the need for information on treating tropical ulcers increases when one moves inland (see Appendix, Chart 1).

Although statistical differences exist between some of the provinces on the need for malaria treatment, nutrition for pregnant mothers, infant nutrition, skin diseases, sexually transmitted diseases, and preparation for childbirth, the differences all were still rated between "agree" or "strongly agree" with the exception of sexually transmitted diseases. This exception may be explained by the community leaders wanting to deny that they have such a problem in their communities.

Graph 1. Means of perceived health book needs



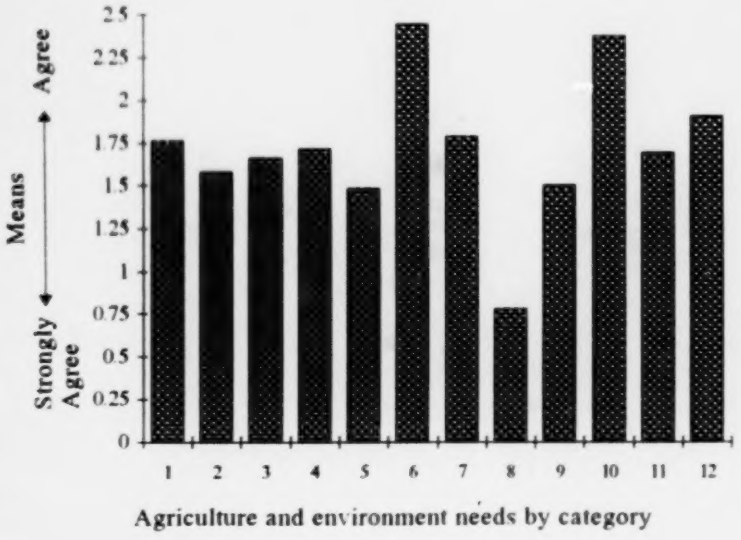
Legend of health needs	
1. Treating tropical ulcers	8. Using traditional medicine
2. First aid	9. Skin diseases
3. Treating malaria	10. AIDS
4. How disease spreads	11. Sexually transmitted diseases
5. Creating a healthy environment	12. How to prevent goiters
6. Nutrition for pregnant mothers	13. How to prevent gout
7. Infant nutrition	14. Preparing for childbirth

4.2 Agriculture and environment book needs

The overall perceived needs for vernacular reading material about agriculture and environmental concerns are as follows, from greatest to least perceived needs: *(a)* protecting the water supply, *(b)* managing the farm, *(c)* making good fertilizer, *(d)* mixed farming, *(e)* managing plant diseases, *(f)* food diversification systems, *(g)* multicropping, *(h)* increasing the quality of an orchard, *(i)* treating animal diseases, *(j)* crossbreeding animals, *(k)* the uses of the sugar palm, and *(l)* how to use ocean resources. Graph 2 below compares the overall means between agricultural categories.

When examining individual provinces it was interesting to note that the provinces which presently are using some degree of multicropping wanted more information. The lack of demand by Irian Jaya may be due to ignorance, and the lack of demand by South Sulawesi and Central Sulawesi may be due to the government drive to promote rice farming at the expense of some other cash crops. Explanations as to the differences in perceived need between provinces of ocean resources may be explained on the basis of geography and proximity to ocean resources. Although farm management proved to be statistically different between provinces, all the provinces scored in the "strongly agree" or "agree" columns.

Graph 2. Means of perceived agricultural/environmental book needs

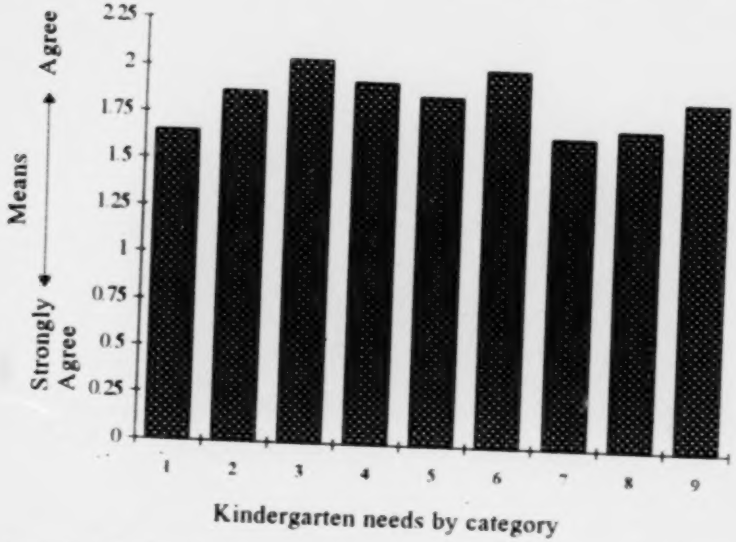


Legend of environmental and agricultural needs	
1. Multicropping	7. Treating animal disease
2. Making good fertilizer	8. Increasing the quality of an orchard
3. Managing plant diseases	9. Protecting the water supply
4. Food diversification systems	10. The uses of the sugar palm
5. Managing the farm	11. Mixed farming
6. How to use ocean resources	12. Crossbreeding animals

4.3 Kindergarten book needs

The overall perceived felt needs related to kindergarten education from those with the greatest felt need to those with the least felt need are as follows: *(a)* learning to count, *(b)* educational activities for kindergarten children, *(c)* creative communication, *(d)* using the environment in education, *(e)* using songs and rhymes in children's education, *(f)* preschool teacher training materials, *(g)* stories in dramatic play, *(h)* organizing a preschool, and *(l)* using traditional musical instruments. Graph 3 compares the means. Interprovince comparisons showed the greatest difference between those provinces that were most developed and where preschool is most common (Central Java) with those that have the least preschools (Irian Jaya and Nusa Tengarah Timor).

Graph 3. Means of perceived kindergarten book needs



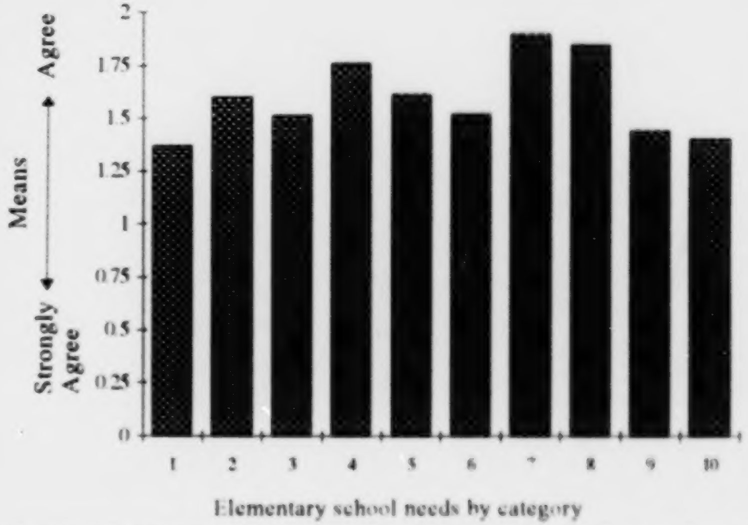
Legend of kindergarten needs

1. Educational activities for kindergarten children
2. Preschool teacher training
3. Using traditional musical instruments
4. Organizing a preschool
5. Using the environment in education
6. Stories in dramatic play
7. Learning to count
8. Creative communication with children
9. Using songs and rhymes in children's education

4.4 Elementary school reading needs

The perceived needs for vernacular reading material related to elementary school are given below. The following lists in order of greatest perceived need to the least perceived need: *(a)* reading books, *(b)* basic arithmetic, *(c)* developing reading skills in children, *(d)* understanding *Pancasila*, *(e)* developing critical thinking skills, *(f)* teacher training, *(g)* books about the cultures of Indonesia, *(h)* Indonesian geography, and *(i)* working with handicapped children. The graph below compares the means.

Chart 4. Means of perceived elementary book needs



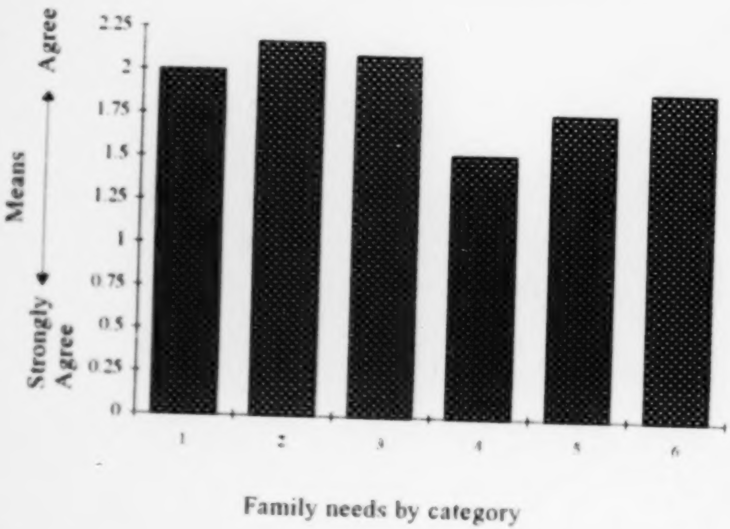
Legend of elementary school needs

1. Reading books
2. Teacher training
3. Understanding *Pancasila*
4. Books about the cultures of Indonesia
5. Developing critical thinking skills
6. Developing creative thinking skills
7. Working with handicapped children
8. Indonesian geography
9. Developing reading skills in children

4.5 Family book needs

The perceived needs for reading material related to family concerns are defined below from the most strongly felt to those least perceived as needed: *(a)* what is the meaning of school for children, *(b)* problems in marital communication, *(c)* dealing with the death of a spouse or child, *(d)* how to take care of handicapped children, *(e)* how to take care of someone with psychological problems, and *(f)* how to take care of someone with spiritual problems. The graph below compares the means.

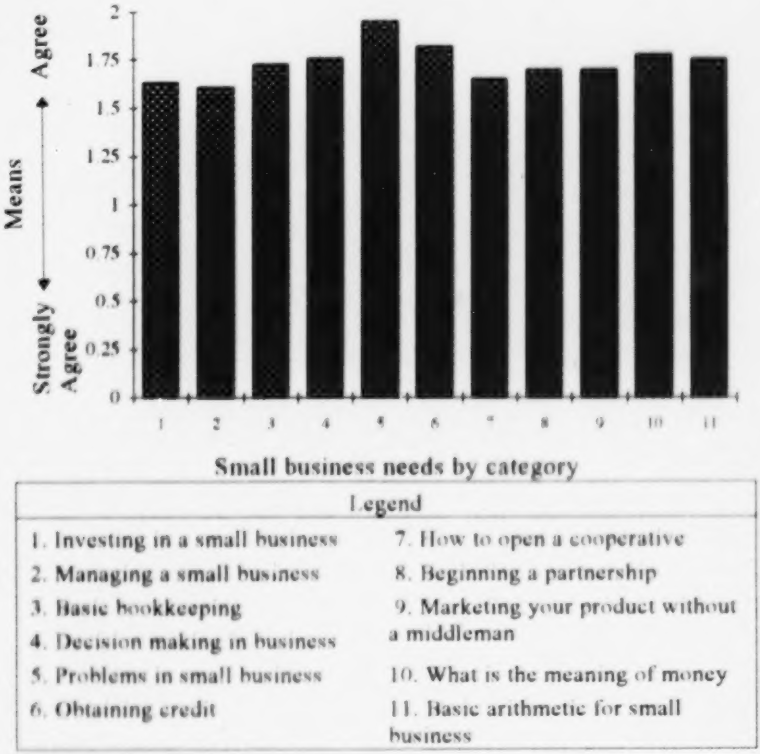
Graph 5. Means of perceived family book needs



Legend of family needs	
1. How to take care of a handicapped child	4. What is the meaning of school for children
2. How to take care of someone with spiritual problems	5. Problems in marital communication
3. How to take care of someone with psychological problems	6. Dealing with the death of a spouse or child

4.6 Small business book needs

The perceived book needs for developing small business are listed here from those with the greatest perceived need to those with the least perceived need: *(a)* managing a small business, *(b)* investing in a small business, *(c)* how to open a cooperative, *(d)* decision making in a small business, *(e)* basic arithmetic for small business, *(f)* marketing your product without a middleman, *(g)* beginning a partnership, *(h)* basic bookkeeping, *(i)* what is the meaning of money, *(j)* obtaining credit, and *(k)* problems in small business. The graph below compares the means.



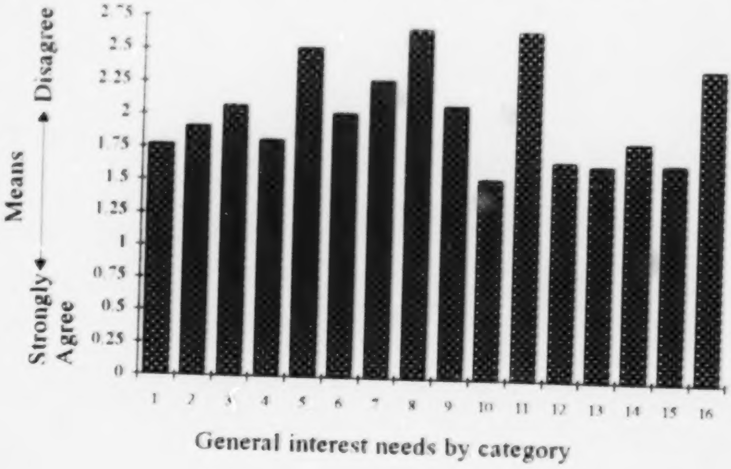
Graph 6. Means of perceived small business book needs

4.7 General interest book needs

The perceived needs in the area of general interest books are listed below in order of the greatest perceived need to the least perceived need: *(a)* building a house, *(b)* building cupboards, *(c)* building chairs, *(d)* cookbook, *(e)* building a desk, *(f)* picture dictionary, *(g)* using cement, *(h)* building toys, *(i)* how to play guitar, *(j)* repairing motorcycles, *(k)* electrical wiring, *(l)* repairing cars, *(m)* welding, *(n)* repairing outboard motors, *(o)* building a boat, and *(p)* working with fiberglass. The graph below compares the means. A comparative statistical analysis between provinces is available in Appendix.

Inter-province comparisons showed some statistical differences between items which could be explained because of geography, including the need for material on building boats and for repairing outboard motors. Comfortable chairs, easily available in Java also scored statistically lower than other provinces. Working with fiberglass proved to be one of the lowest scoring items anywhere in the survey. This may be in part to ignorance as to what can be achieved by working with fiberglass. Car and motorcycle repair also scored very low, a reason for which was unknown.

Graph 7. Means of general interest book needs

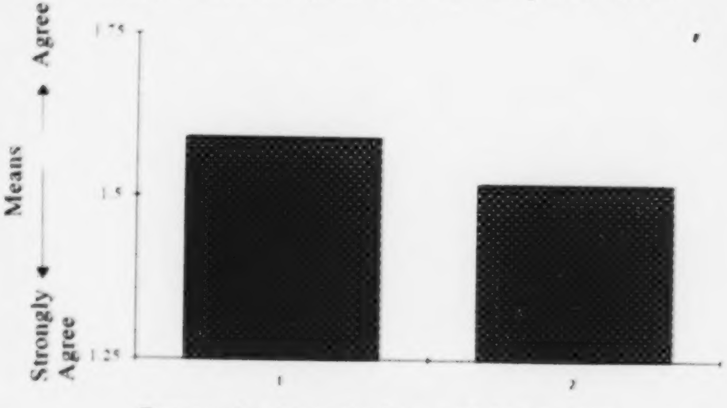


Legend of general interest needs	
1. Cookbook	9. Electrical wiring
2. Using cement (blocks, plastering, etc.)	10. Building a house
3. How to play guitar	11. Building a boat
4. Picture dictionary	12. Building chairs
5. Repairing outboard motors	13. Building a desk
6. Repairing motorcycles	14. Building toys
7. Repairing cars	15. Building cupboards
8. Working with fiberglass	16. Welding

4.8 Strengthening the community book needs

The perceived literature needs in the area of strengthening the community are listed below in order of greatest perceived need to the least perceived need: *(a)* strengthening the solidarity of the community and *(b)* making decisions as a community.

Graph 8. Means of perceived community book needs



Legend of community needs	
1. Making decisions as a community	2. Strengthening the solidarity of the community

Overall need by broad category listed from the greatest perceived need to the least perceived need are as follows: *(1)* strengthening the community book needs (M = 1.566), *(2)* elementary school book needs (M = 1.572), *(3)* health book needs (M = 1.712), *(4)* small business book needs (M = 1.718), *(5)* agriculture and environment book needs (M = 1.755), *(6)* family book needs (M = 1.839), *(7)* kindergarten book needs (M = 1.859), and *(8)* general interest book needs (M = 2.05). With the exception of the last category, the perception of need ranged between "strongly perceived need" to "strong perceived need."

5. Conclusions

Conclusion #1

The perception of book needs between men and women was minimal with two exceptions: *(1)* women felt a greater need to explain the purpose of schooling to children, and *(2)* men generally perceived reading to be an activity of enjoyment.

Conclusion #2

Perception of book needs between the government and private sector differed in many fields with government workers scoring higher on nineteen subcategories.

Conclusion #3

In the subcategory, health reading books, the issue of sexually transmitted diseases were not perceived as needing books. This may have been due to the Indonesian cultural environment not readily acknowledging that their communities may be promiscuous (i.e., the shame factor).

Conclusion #4

In post-hoc ANOVA tests, Irian Jaya and Central Java were most often different from the other provinces.

Conclusion #5

An overall perceived need for vernacular literature exists in Eastern Indonesia with no category receiving a mean scoring indicating a "disagree" (a mean score of 3) or "strongly disagree" (a mean score of 4).

6. Recommendations

Based on the conclusions of this study, the following recommendations are suggested.

1. There is a strong perceived need for vernacular reading material regardless of the geographical area. Vernacular languages should be developed by creating vernacular reading books.
2. In choosing topics for books, it should not be presumed that areas of Eastern Indonesia perceive the same needs as that of Java. Eastern Indonesia should be treated as a separate cultural entity and not addressed as having the same felt needs as the other geographical areas of Indonesia. Within the provinces of Eastern Indonesia, special attention should be paid to Irian Jaya and Nusa Tengarah Timor, who are most unlike others in their perceived book needs.
3. The conclusions in this study should be tempered with projected development plans of the government which may create or change perceived needs in the future. Just because as category scored low at the present moment does not mean a need should not be anticipated. The need for AIDS books scored the lowest on the perceived health needs but should perhaps be anticipated for future concerns.
4. There were a large number of different perceived needs between the private sector and the government.
5. Of all the broad general categories, primary attention should be paid to the following: *(1)* elementary school, *(2)* small business, *(3)* strengthening the community, and *(4)* health.

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Appendix: A comparison of means and standard deviations of vernacular book needs between provinces in eastern Indonesia

Chart 1. Health book needs

	Topic of book		Province						
			Central Sulawesi	Central Java	North Sulawesi	East Nusa Tenggara	South Sulawesi	East Timor	Irian Jaya
•	1. Treating tropical ulcers	M	1.69	2.4	2.4	2.22	1.92	1.909	1.2
		SD	.63	.932	.843	.814	.277	.5	.422
	2. First aid	M	1.39	1.531	1.727	1.457	1.538	1.5	2.11
		SD	.506	.718	.647	.504	.66	.564	1.132
•	3. Treating malaria	M	1.538	1.781	1.818	1.234	2.154	1.273	1.111
		SD	.66	.87	.874	.428	.801	.517	.323
	4. How disease spreads	M	1.692	1.812	1.636	1.553	1.385	1.758	1.5
		SD	.519	.336	.505	.538	.48	.504	.616
	5. Creating a healthy environment	M	1.462	1.125	1.636	1.404	1.308	1.441	1.444
		SD	.519	.336	.505	.538	.48	.504	.616
•	6. Nutrition for pregnant mothers	M	1.385	1.156	1.717	1.447	1.231	1.485	1.278
		SD	.65	.369	.467	.503	.438	.667	.461
•	7. Infant nutrition	M	1.462	1.125	1.545	1.468	1.846	1.529	1.389
		SD	.66	.336	.522	.504	1.068	.706	.502
	8. Using traditional medicine	M	1.462	1.688	1.727	1.435	1.385	1.550	1.941
		SD	.519	.738	.647	.501	.65	.613	.659
•	9. Skin diseases	M	1.538	1.844	1.909	1.66	2.07	1.545	1.611
		SD	.519	.574	.539	.479	.641	.564	.698
	10. AIDS	M	2.231	2.469	2.364	1.766	2.538	2.088	2.444
		SD	.725	.95	.809	.758	.66	.753	.784
•	11. Sexually transmitted diseases	M	2.308	2.5	1.727	2.362	2.385	2.647	2.389
		SD	.855	.88	.786	.942	.87	.981	.916
	12. How to prevent goiters	M	1.615	1.938	2.273	1.894	2.077	1.818	2.588
		SD	.506	.84	.647	.814	.76	.769	1.004
	13. How to prevent gout	M	2	1.938	2.182	1.915	1.846	2	2.5
		SD	.707	.669	.603	.88	.801	.762	.894
•	14. Preparing for childbirth	M	1.308	1.281	1.909	1.617	1.692	1.636	1.471
		SD	.48	.523	.302	.61	.48	.549	.514

M = Mean calculated from a scale of 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Disagree, and 4 = Strongly disagree, SD = Standard deviation

• = Significant difference between groups at the $p < .05$ level in ANOVA calculations

Chart 2. Agriculture and environment book needs

Topic of book		Province						
		Central Sulawesi	Central Java	North Sulawesi	East Nusa Tenggara	South Sulawesi	East Timor	Irian Jaya
• 1. Multicropping	M	1.846	1.357	1.5	1.681	2.308	1.529	2.125
	SD	1.068	.544	.707	.862	.947	.615	.885
2. Making good fertilizer	M	1.615	1.312	1.909	1.617	1.308	1.588	1.706
	SD	.768	.471	.539	.768	.48	.609	.772
3. Managing plant diseases	M	1.692	1.781	1.636	1.532	1.462	1.636	1.875
	SD	1.032	.906	.674	.83	.66	.783	.806
4. Food diversification systems	M	1.75	1.781	1.727	1.702	1.5	1.515	2
	SD	.622	.491	.647	.883	.522	.508	.894
• 5. Managing the farm	M	1.231	1.312	1.8	1.511	1.385	1.294	1.857
	SD	.439	.471	.632	.585	.506	.462	.663
• 6. How to use ocean resources	M	1.769	3.531	1.909	2.596	3.538	1.5	2.312
	SD	.599	.803	.539	1.21	.66	.663	1.352
7. Treating animal diseases	M	1.846	1.812	1.909	1.681	1.692	1.618	2
	SD	.555	.738	.539	.837	.855	.697	.632
8. Increasing the quality of an orchard	M	1.846	.689	.505	.677	.63	.66	.47
	SD	.947	.665	.467	.486	.439	.557	.814
9. Protecting the water supply	M	1.692	1.406	1.273	1.362	1.769	1.412	1.562
	SD	.947	.665	.467	.486	.439	.557	.814
• 10. The uses of the sugar palm	M	2.769	2.719	2.273	1.723	3	1.824	2.357
	SD	.832	.745	.688	.534	.855	.707	1.082
• 11. Mixed farming	M	1.769	1.656	1.455	1.383	1.692	1.5	2.357
	SD	.832	.745	.688	.534	.855	.707	1.082
12. Crossbreeding animals	M	2	2.125	1.636	1.851	1.462	2	2.267
	SD	.707	.793	.505	.834	.519	.901	1.163

Chart 3. Preschool book needs

Topic of book		Province						
		Central Sulawesi	Central Java	North Sulawesi	East Nusa Tenggara	South Sulawesi	East Timor	Irian Jaya
1. Educational activities for kindergarten children	M	1.538	1.469	1.545	1.681	1.538	1.636	2.176
	SD	.776	.567	.522	.783	.967	.783	1.015
2. Preschool teacher training	M	1.846	1.719	1.818	2.17	1.538	1.758	2.235
	SD	.801	.636	.603	.732	.776	.751	1.033
3. Using traditional musical instruments in the classroom	M	1.846	1.844	2.091	2.17	1.692	2.094	2.529
	SD	.689	.677	.302	.732	.48	.734	.943
• 4. Organizing a preschool	M	1.769	1.656	1.909	2.14	1.692	1.938	2.412
	SD	.725	.701	.539	.761	.751	.669	1.121
5. Using the environment in education	M	1.462	1.688	1.636	1.787	2.154	1.875	2.412
	SD	.519	.644	.505	.72	.899	.66	1.121
6. Stories in dramatic play	M	2.077	1.875	1.636	1.872	2.231	2	2.412
	SD	.641	.336	.674	.769	1.013	.762	1.121
7. Learning to count	M	1.385	1.469	1.636	1.723	1.769	1.781	1.833
	SD	.506	.567	.505	.772	.439	.706	1.043
• 8. Creating communication skills with children	M	1.385	1.531	1.455	1.809	1.692	1.781	2.294
	SD	.506	.507	.522	.741	.751	.659	1.16
9. Using songs and rhymes in children's education	M	1.769	1.75	1.727	2	1.692	1.938	2.176
	SD	.439	.508	.647	.78	.63	.619	1.131

Chart 4. Elementary school book needs

Topic of book		Province						
		Central Sulawesi	Central Java	North Sulawesi	East Nusa Tenggara	South Sulawesi	East Timor	Irian Jaya
1. Reading books	M	1.231	1.281	1.455	1.383	1.154	1.382	1.722
	SD	.439	.457	.522	.491	.376	.551	.958
2. Teacher training	M	1.615	1.562	1.545	1.766	1.308	1.441	1.944
	SD	.65	.564	.522	.666	.46	.561	.938
3. Understanding *Pancasila*	M	1.385	1.25	1.545	1.489	1.538	1.382	2
	SD	.65	.44	.522	.505	.519	.493	.791
4. Books about the cultures of Indonesia	M	1.769	1.5	1.909	1.674	1.923	1.471	2.056
	SD	.439	.508	.302	.634	.277	.507	.725
5. Developing critical thinking skills	M	1.385	1.5	1.636	1.596	1.692	1.618	1.824
	SD	.65	.508	.505	.648	.751	.694	.883
6. Developing creative thinking skills	M	1.231	1.156	1.636	1.656	1.462	1.588	1.882
	SD	.439	.369	.505	.688	.66	.743	.928
7. Working with handicapped children	M	1.769	1.688	1.7	1.957	2.077	1.971	2.176
	SD	.439	.592	.483	.859	.641	.627	1.015
8. Indonesian geography	M	1.769	1.875	1.8	2.085	1.846	1.606	2
	SD	.439	.707	.422	.775	.376	.609	.767
9. Developing reading skills in children	M	1.231	1.375	1.5	1.553	1.385	1.438	1.588
	SD	.439	.492	.527	.544	.506	.564	.939
10. Basic arithmetic	M	1.308	1.469	1.455	1.489	1.154	1.455	1.444
	SD	.48	.507	.522	.621	.376	.564	.705

Chart 5. Family book needs

Topic of book		Province						
		Central Sulawesi	Central Java	North Sulawesi	East Nusa Tenggara	South Sulawesi	East Timor	Irian Jaya
1 How to take care of handicapped children	M	1.923	1.875	1.818	2.064	1.923	1.97	2.444
	SD	.494	.609	.405	.845	.494	.585	.984
2 How to take care of someone with spiritual problems	M	2.077	2.094	2.091	2.128	2.154	2.121	2.5
	SD	.641	.689	.539	.969	.555	.781	1.043
3 How to take care of someone with psychological problems	M	1.923	1.906	2.091	2.043	2.167	2.152	2.444
	SD	.76	.641	.539	.884	.577	.834	1.097
4 What is the meaning of school for children	M	1.385	1.531	1.455	1.362	1.615	1.545	1.778
	SD	.506	.567	.522	.529	.65	.666	1.003
5 Problems in marital communication	M	1.385	1.625	1.364	1.468	1.692	1.625	1.944
	SD	.65	.544	.505	.504	.751	.554	.938
6 Dealing with the death of a spouse or child	M	1.923	1.812	1.9	1.787	2.077	1.756	2.125
	SD	.641	.78	.361	.907	.76	.708	1.025

Chart 6. Small business book needs

Topic of book		Province						
		Central Sulawesi	Central Java	North Sulawesi	East Nusa Tenggara	South Sulawesi	East Timor	Irian Jaya
1. Investing in a small business	M	1.769	1.531	1.727	1.66	1.462	1.529	1.75
	SD	.439	.507	.467	.479	.519	.563	.931
2. Managing a small business	M	1.615	1.469	1.636	1.617	1.538	1.618	1.75
	SD	.506	.507	.505	.491	.66	.551	.931
3. Basic bookkeeping	M	1.692	1.75	1.727	1.745	1.615	1.735	1.875
	SD	.48	.568	.467	.607	.506	.511	.957
4. Decision making in business	M	1.615	1.812	1.818	1.957	1.615	1.529	2
	SD	.506	.78	.405	.658	.65	.615	.894
5. Problems in small business	M	1.769	2.219	1.727	2.17	2	1.735	2
	SD	.599	.832	.467	.892	.816	.71	.894
6. Obtaining credit	M	1.769	1.906	1.545	1.936	1.846	1.794	1.938
	SD	.439	.641	.522	.763	.555	.729	.929
7. How to open a cooperative	M	1.692	1.5	1.818	1.826	1.538	1.618	1.529
	SD	.48	.622	.405	.677	.519	.551	.624
8. Beginning a partnership	M	1.615	1.625	1.636	1.617	2	1.676	1.765
	SD	.506	.492	.505	.491	.408	.589	.752
9. Marketing your product without a middleman	M	1.615	1.562	1.455	1.787	1.769	1.818	1.875
	SD	.65	.564	.522	.587	.599	.683	.806
10. What is the meaning of money	M	1.692	1.812	2	1.63	2.077	1.647	1.588
	SD	.63	.592	.447	.645	.641	.691	.712
11. Basic arithmetic for small business	M	1.692	1.562	2	1.638	2	1.676	1.667
	SD	.48	.564	.447	.605	.408	.589	.767

Chart 7. General interest book needs

Topic of book		Province						
		Central Sulawesi	Central Java	North Sulawesi	East Nusa Tenggara	South Sulawesi	East Timor	Irian Jaya
1 Cookbook	M	2	1.781	1.09	1.617	1.462	1.647	2
	SD	.707	.608	.539	.677	.66	.734	.866
2 Using cement	M	1.923	2.156	2	1.783	1.846	1.735	1.944
	SD	.76	.628	.447	.664	.555	.618	1.056
3 How to play guitar	M	2.154	2.406	2.091	2.089	1.923	1.853	2
	SD	.689	.875	.539	.793	.641	.657	.791
4 Picture dictionary	M	2.077	2.156	1.545	1.787	1.769	1.765	1.588
	SD	.76	.723	.522	.883	.599	.654	.795
• 5 Repairing outboard motors	M	2.154	3.452	2.091	3.021	3.308	1.794	1.8
	SD	.689	.675	.539	1.032	.751	.687	1.207
6 Repairing motorcycles	M	1.923	1.906	1.727	2.255	1.846	2.147	2.429
	SD	.494	.53	.467	.846	1.281	.892	1.089
• 7 Repairing cars	M	2	2.531	1.727	2.766	2	2.412	2.533
	SD	.577	.761	.467	.983	.816	.821	.99
• 8 Working with fiberglass	M	2.462	3.312	2.2	2.913	2.769	2.485	2.6
	SD	.877	.644	.632	.812	.725	.906	1.121
9 Electrical wiring	M	1.923	2.219	2.091	2.239	1.692	2.265	2.312
	SD	.277	.87	.302	.899	.855	.828	1.078
10 Building a house	M	1.769	1.469	1.636	1.489	1.385	1.576	1.5
	SD	.832	.507	.505	.655	.65	.561	.786
• 11 Building a boat	M	2.615	3.281	2.273	2.809	3.385	1.794	2.588
	SD	.87	.813	.467	1.056	.87	.641	1.121
• 12 Building chairs	M	1.615	2	1.636	1.553	1.692	1.559	1.765
	SD	.506	.672	.505	.686	.63	.613	.831
13 Building a desk	M	1.692	1.875	1.636	1.553	1.692	1.559	1.647
	SD	.63	.609	.505	.746	.63	.561	.702
14 Building toys	M	1.615	1.969	1.727	1.83	1.846	1.794	2.118
	SD	.506	.695	.467	.789	.555	.592	1.054
15 Building cupboards	M	1.615	1.906	1.636	1.638	1.615	1.515	1.824
	SD	.506	.53	.505	.735	.65	.566	.951
• 16 Welding	M	2	2.656	2.091	2.702	2.538	2.226	2.643
	SD	.913	.701	.701	.954	1.05	.805	1.082

Chart 8. Strengthening the community book needs

Topic of book		Province						
		Central Sulawesi	Central Java	North Sulawesi	East Nusa Tenggara	South Sulawesi	East Timor	Irian Jaya
1. Making decisions as a community	M	1.462	1.625	1.545	1.652	1.385	1.559	1.938
	SD	.519	.554	.522	.566	.65	.561	.929
2. Strengthening the solidarity of the community	M	1.462	1.531	1.273	1.63	1.462	1.559	1.75
	SD	.519	.507	.467	.679	.66	.613	.856

Announcement

Call for Articles

Are you innovative? Have you adapted a methodology to fit your situation in a creative way? Have you merged theories into a new literacy method? Do you feel as though you are all alone in the literacy world? Why not share your ideas and innovations with the rest of the SIL literacy world?

Notes on Literacy is always looking for creative ideas, methods, and techniques. Have you tried models that just will not work in your situation? Have you documented your findings? Write it up and share your findings. Someone else out there may be in a similar situation and would love to know how you solved your problems or at least figured out what would not work.

All manuscripts submitted for publication need to be on computer media in either MS-DOS or MAC format. A paper copy of the manuscript must accompany the diskette. Also include a brief biographical note including training, experience, field of service, and relevant dates.

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Orthography Testing in Botswana

Sue Hasselbring

Sue Hasselbring received her M.A. in sociolinguistics from Georgetown University in 1993. She has done language surveys for Lutheran Bible Translators (LBT) in Sierra Leone and Botswana since 1995. She currently is serving with LBT in Botswana.

Some people argued, "If you write Kalanga that way, the words will be too long and people won't be able to read it!" Others countered, "If you chop the words into small pieces, people will read it in a choppy way!" This study was conducted to find out which was true. What difference did it make whether the preverbal morphemes were written as separate words (disjunctively) or as prefixes of the verb (conjunctively)? Kalanga is most closely related to Shona which is written conjunctively while the majority language in Botswana (Tswana) is written disjunctively. The only recently published Kalanga author writes in a way that is somewhere in between (composite).

A reading test was developed using three personal anecdotes which were first told orally and then transcribed and edited by employees of Kalanga Bible Translation Project. Pre-testing was done by having several Kalangas read the stories aloud. Difficult words or phrases were edited and one story was shortened to assure that the stories could be read in nearly the same amount of time. Three sets of word division rules were used: *a)* a conjunctive one based on Shona, *b)* a disjunctive one based on Tswana, and *c)* an alternative one based on the Kalanga author (heretofore referred to as composite). Each story was written in each of the three systems. Six booklets were made. Each booklet had a different combination of order for word division as is shown in the table below. This was done so that we could distinguish what difference in performance was due to the story or the order in which it was read and what difference was due to the type of word division used (cf. Chart 1).

Chart 1. Word division in booklets

	Book 1	Book 2	Book 3	Book 4	Book 5	Book 6
Story 1: bike	disj.	disj.	conj.	conj.	disj.	disj.
Story 2: ostrich	conj.	comp.	comp.	disj.	conj.	comp.
Story 3: fight	comp.	conj.	disj.	comp.	comp.	conj.

Each booklet had a different color cover for easy identification as to the order of word division styles. For example, in the yellow book the first story was written conjunctively, the second disjunctively and the third in the composite style. There were six different books each with the word division styles in a different order. It was felt that using different colors to mark the word order styles of the booklets would not as likely be questioned by the readers as numbering or other devices for markimg.

Each story was written on one page so the subjects could not begin looking at the next story before they were told to begin. The three stories were in the same order in each book. During the pre-test, the impression of the testers was that the pre-test participants seemed to improve from one story to the next and within each story. Therefore, the story which after editing still seemed slightly easier was put first, while the story that still seemed slightly more difficult was put last. This was done in an effort to balance out the reader's improvement, even though the stories seemed to be of similar difficulty to the testers.

Several Kalanga speakers were trained to mark the stories using tape recordings during practice sessions. As a person read, the researchers indicated on a score sheet each place the person repeated, hesitated, and mispronounced words. A second researcher timed the person as he or she read. Both researchers gave an evaluation from 1 to 4 for naturalness of intonation.

Before reading the story, demographic information about the reader was obtained. The readers were told that the three stories were written a bit differently and that we were trying to determine which way of writing Kalanga was easiest to read. They were not told that the difference was in the area of word division rules. After reading all three stories, the reader was asked which of the stories was easiest to read.

Over 350 Kalanga speakers read all three stories (about 250 in Botswana and 100 in Zimbabwe). The number of hesitations, rereads, and mispronunciations for each story were counted. The data was entered into the statistics program, EPI, for analysis. Results were tallied for subgroups based on country of birth, age, education, who taught the person to read, and several other factors.

The results served the purpose of defusing the above mentioned argument, i.e., no significant differences resulted! Most people said the three stories were equally easy to read. Only three subjects commented about the words being shorter or longer in different stories. Most attributed any difficulties in reading to the representation of specific phonemes or to dialect difference (note that all three stories were told and written in the same dialect). The difference in performance on the first, second, and third person's performance generally improved from the first story to the second to the third. And this pattern of differences was larger than any differences based on the type of word division.

This is not to say that everyone read equally well. Many people read each story in less than one minute, but some took as long as ten minutes per story. Some had almost no hesitation, repetitions, or mispronunciations, while others had many. A person who had problems with one story, however, had similar problems with all three stories.

The response to the test was very positive. People liked the stories, and many wanted to keep the books. People did not seem intimidated by the fact that notes were being taken as they read or that they were being timed. Of course such a test can only be used with people who know how to read. The Kalanga people are highly literate in Tswana. Those who attended school before independence (1966) were taught to read and write in Kalanga. Since independence, little has been published in Kalanga, but people still use it for correspondence. Also, since there are only a few differences between the Tswana and Kalanga alphabets, Kalangas who can read Tswana do not find it difficult to read their own language.

A similar test could probably be used to test other types of orthography issues. This test cannot indicate which type of word division is easiest for people to learn to read, it can only measure which type of word division is easiest for people who already know how to read. We did not look a what parts of the story caused the most difficulty; we only considered the total number of hesitations, repetitions, and mispronunciations. An analysis of the actual errors might yield further useful information about the orthography.

Announcement

North Dakota SIL Literacy Megacourse

The entire semester literacy training course package, known as the Literacy Megacourse, will be offered during the summer of 1996 at North Dakota SIL. The Megacourse is comprised of three graduate courses: Principles of Literacy, Reading Theory and Applied Linguistics, and Literacy Program Planning, totaling nine graduate credit hours in linguistics with an emphasis on literacy. This one semester course package prepares a person to be a literacy specialist in SIL or to serve in literacy with another organization. The cost is approximately $1,200 including room and board.

The Megacourse offers training in reading theory, three basic approaches to beginning literacy, the theory and methodology of designing a range of pedagogical and andragogical materials, principles of designing and testing a writing system, and an introduction to the full range of issues involved in designing and implementing a literacy program.

The summer course is a full semester's worth of work concentrated into nine weeks. It is offered June 3 to August 2, 1996. The course assumes a basic knowledge of linguistics, although it is not required. Special tutoring sessions are planned for those without linguistic backgrounds.

Heading up the Megacourse is Dr. Mary Morgan (extensive literacy and educational work in Mexico, Guatemala, and Niger), with an experienced staff of Elke Karan (Central African Republic), Reg Nayler (South Asia), and Trudy Stewart (Congo and Project 95). Teaching assistants and office staff will also be on hand to facilitate the program.

Consider coming to North Dakota SIL in the United States for the Literacy Megacourse. Encourage your entity colleagues and associates from home to participate also. It is a great opportunity for teachers and educators to learn more about SIL while they pursue graduate level studies in education or applied linguistics. The Texas SIL admissions office has enrollment forms and catalogs, or contact the Dallas Literacy Office for detailed information (Internet: Wycliffe_Literacy@sil.org).

The Literacy Megacourse will also be offered every fall semester at Texas SIL. The dates for 1996 are August 26 through December 13. Cost is about $2,000 including room and board.

notes on LITERACY

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NOTES ON LITERACY

EDITOR: Judith D. Moine-Boothe

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Women, Literacy, and Development: Challenges for the Twenty-first Century

Pat Herbert

Pat Herbert is the Literacy Consultant for SIL in Ghana. The following is her report on the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) World Assembly in Cairo, Egypt, which she attended from September 15 through September 23, 1994.

1. Introduction

The International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), fulfilling its function as an international coordinating body for regional and national agencies involved in adult education, held this World Assembly for the first time in the Arab region. The object was to present issues that were relevant to grassroots projects, non-governmental organizations, development agencies, governments, and eventually the world. As a result of this, ICAE wanted to present an opportunity for regional and national agencies to set new agendas and priorities for the coming four years. ICAE's own vision needed to be renewed so that guidelines could be set up through to the twenty-first century.

2. Participants

There were about 300 delegates representing countries and organizations from all over the world. The Arab countries were well represented.

3. Program

The program consisted of plenary sessions, workshops, and solidarity visits. Time was alloted for recognizing the twenty-five years of international cooperation with the *Deutschen Volkshochschul-Verbandes* (DVV). Also on the agenda was the holding a general assembly and election of the executive committee for the ICAE members. A message from the Secretary General of

UNESCO was passed on by Paul Belanger, Director UNESCO Institute for Education, Germany at the beginning of this meeting.

At the Inaugural Ceremony, Suzanne Mubarak, wife of the Egyptian President and chairwoman of two organizations (the National Council of Motherhood and Childhood and the Egyptian Society for Development and Children), welcomed the delegates and outlined Egypt's commitment to education with particular reference to women as the key to its future development. Her expectation that the conference would "come up with practical results that are related to reality" was never realized.

3.1 Plenary sessions

Issues from the overall theme of women, literacy, and development and their link with the current issues facing the global education movement were presented in the plenary sessions. The central debates were outlined in the opening plenary. After this, plenary sessions were held that included such topics as the following:

- Adult education in Palestine: challenges facing adult and women's education in the transition from national struggle to liberation
- National perspectives on "the gendered literacy profile in different countries": programs undertaken to address the situation
- Governmental perspectives on women, literacy, and development in the Arab region
- Non-governmental organizations perspectives on women, literacy, and development in the Arab region
- Poverty, environment, population, and the area of literacy work for women: pointing to new directions
- Adult education in a new South Africa: political transition and democratic development

3.2 Workshops

The workshops were concurrent, and topics addressed were as follows:

- production of literacy materials
- adult education and literacy research
- literacy and empowerment
- gender planning in literacy and non-formal adult education
- adult education for human rights
- ICAE evaluation discussion
- influence of violence on girls' and women's education
- capabilities of non-profit organizations
- historical development of adult education focus on Africa
- participatory rural appraisal
- literacy and health education
- international cooperation
- literacy and people in confinement

Two workshops were run so that initial planning could start for the World Summit on Social Development 1995 and the World Conference on Women, Beijing 1995.

Generally the workshops were not considered highly beneficial as quality of presentation and information content varied considerably. I attended a very good workshop on Participatory Rural Appraisal run by Action Aid. I also attended a mediocre workshop on Gender Planning by the British Council and a poor workshop on Literacy Materials run by an assortment of people. Many people were looking for what was practical and not theoretical.

3.3 Solidarity visits

Two days were used for solidarity visits to areas where adult classes were in progress. The purpose of these classes was to help the illiterate adult to become literate in order that he or she could be trained for employment. Women were participating in sewing classes, while men participated in plumbing, electrical, and house decorating classes. Delegates found this extremely interesting and would have appreciated more time allocated to communication with the grassroots.

4. The gender issue

Much of what was being presented in the plenary sessions was just the official line without reflecting reality. A case in point was the presentation of "Women, literacy, and development in the Arab region." In this session, government representatives said that Arab women had equal rights with men and had access to every domain that men had. Afterwards I spoke with two highly qualified Arab women, one from Jordan and one from Egypt, who said that this was not the truth. Although these women enjoyed greater freedom to express their views because of their high positions and education, Arab women in general were oppressed. A statement was read during one of the plenary sessions by an Arab woman who said she represented Arab women. She wanted to state that what was being presented about Arab women was untrue. Later, a woman from the Syrian government refuted this by another statement. Female representatives from India were particularly vocal about gender equality and even denounced the "belly dancing" entertainment given by the Egyptian hosts!

5. Kamla Bhasin

The most interesting and stimulating paper was "Let Us Look Again at Development, Education, and Women" presented by Ms. Kamla Bhasin of India. She was probably the only delegate who really looked at the challenge of the twenty-first century in relation to women, literacy, and development.

5.1 Development

Ms. Bhasin questioned the kind of development that was currently in focus and called it "mal(e)development!" She declared that there were more wars, inequality, hunger, disease, rape, and pornography that ever before. "More weapons, more drugs, more cigarettes, more junk food, junk drinks, junk toys, and more junkies, but not enough food or basic services for billions! The cry at the beginning of the twentieth century was development; at the end of this century, it is **survival**."

Ms. Bhasin said the model for development should no longer be the rich countries but the poorer ones. She gave as a rationale the ideas of Ivan Illich from the book, *Gender*. "Without negative growth, it is impossible to maintain an ecological balance, achieve justice among regions or foster people's peace. And the policy must, of course, be implemented in rich countries at a much higher rate than in poor ones." The question she asks is: Do we need more development or less in the twenty-first century?

5.2 Education and literacy

Ms. Bhasin, in her paper, agrees that literacy should be available for every citizen, but she also declares that education fuels ambition. She feels the world is in its present condition because of the ten to fifteen percent rich and educated. "What the world is today is the creation of literate, educated, scientific, developed men, and frankly the world does not look good to me."

What has been promoted is not education but "mis-education." In our pursuit of the material we have lost touch with our inner selves. The answer, Bhasin believes, is to be found in love and therefore, we should be talking about values. Our primers should be analyzed for the values they are promoting. She continues, "To fight inequality and to save the world from ecological disasters, we have to talk of values like love, compassion, sharing, and nurturing."

5.3 Women

Bhasin questions the assumption that women should be dragged into the mess caused by mal(e)development and supposed education. She states that because women still retain some of that backwardness that is so decried, they are the last bastions of sanity. The "feminine," that is, that which has feminine principles and values, contains the key to our survival. "In fact, all those men who are considered godly, who are worshipped for centuries were all very gentle, motherly, feminine. I am talking of Buddha, Jesus Christ, Mahavir, prophet Mohammed, Guru Nanak."

Bhasin also talks of the potential that women have to create a humane world because of their history of being at the bottom of society and leading movements for peace and equality. "My question is, as adult educators, what can we do to promote feminine values, what can we do to devalue male values, to devalue power, aggression, consumerism, violence?" Bhasin concluded her paper with a call for a movement to devalue power, consumerism, and domination so that the first will be ashamed not to be the non-firsts, and the twenty-first century will belong to the marginalized and brutalized in the name of development.

6. Evaluation

It was an extremely broadening experience, although the conference was not well organized. The Egyptian hosts, however, did everything in their power to show us their country and their literacy efforts.

The most original ideas came from Kamla Bhasin, and on the whole representatives from India had a lot to contribute which was worthwhile. The best contribution from Africa was from a non-governmental organization in Nigeria. Much of what was said in the plenary sessions was not challenging, but Bhasin put forward a plea for values and for love. This plea ties in with the current interest in development circles on a morals-based development. I believe SIL has a lot to offer here, and we need to find appropriate ways of expressing it.

Gazing into the Literacy Crystal Ball: SIL's Work in Literacy and Education

Steve Walter, International Literacy Coordinator for SIL

1. Introduction

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has now been doing work in linguistic research, language development, and applied linguistics for more than fifty years. During this period, there have been dramatic changes in the context in which SIL works. Furthermore, SIL has slowly but surely seen its work expand to other areas from that of its roots—Latin America. Internally, ongoing evaluation of SIL project activity has raised certain questions of strategy and methodology that merit careful reflection. Each of these trends seems to be motivating an increased focus on literacy in SIL program activity.

The purpose of this paper is to further identify and investigate those factors and conditions which impact SIL with respect to work in literacy and mother tongue education. The intention, obviously, is to clarify for the reader how and why certain adjustments in policy and practice seem to be appropriate at this time in SIL's history[1].

Put yourself in any of the following situations. You are a linguist who has recently finished a language project for a large people group in Africa numbering more than two million people. You start literacy classes because people are eager to learn to read. The classes mushroom. Soon, you have thousands and thousands of people wanting to attend literacy classes. The printing of basic primers for entering learners costs $10,000 a year. Printing other materials for the literacy classes and for the new literates will cost another $15,000 a year. What do you do? Where do you stop? What is your obligation to the people and the project?

---

[1] An earlier version of this paper was written for presentation to an SIL audience. For this reason, the paper will, in several places, appear to be a bit more personal and informal than one would expect of a published paper.

You are the chairman of the Executive Committee of a large SIL Branch. The director reports that the national Ministry of Education has asked SIL to take the leading role in a new program to eradicate illiteracy. A major focus will be mother tongue literacy for minorities. By making this request, the government has demonstrated great confidence in your organization as well as given you an opportunity to meet literacy needs in a big way. Should you take on such a responsibility?

You are the SIL administrator in a country that has gotten enthusiastic about mother tongue education. You are asked if SIL could play a primary role in helping the country to implement mother tongue education. You have twenty active language projects, but more than eighty languages are spoken in the country. You know that getting deeply involved will place a heavy burden on your project teams. What do you say?

These are very real scenarios that have taken place in SIL entities in just the last few years. As individuals, as field entities, and as an organization, SIL finds itself wrestling with complex opportunities and challenges that compete for limited resources and time. As an organization with a commitment to service, how far should SIL go in doing or supporting literacy work? What is our obligation to training and institution development in host countries? These are fundamental questions SIL needs to resolve for itself as it faces the future.

Literacy has been a part of the work of SIL from the beginning of its time in Mexico, though the scope and intensity of more recent work in literacy has greatly increased compared to the earlier period. Methodologically, SIL's work in literacy is very much organized around the "language project," a group of people speaking a given language. Tactically and strategically, literacy has been a part of the work of SIL for several reasons: (1) support for other SIL goals in literature production, (2) contractual commitments to host governments and institutions, (3) basic humanitarian objectives, (4) an expression of academic professionalism, and (5) support for general development objectives.

As an organization with limited resources and a complex character, SIL wrestles with problems of competing priorities and relative appropriateness as it encounters opportunities for service in today's world. On the one hand, SIL wants to remain true to its fundamental distinctives. On the other, SIL faces changing circumstances and the need to interpret its distinctives, priorities, and options in a shifting environment.

In this brief paper, I want to attempt to do three things: (1) to give the reader a feel for the growing scope of SIL's work in literacy and education, (2) to give data which may explain this growth, and (3) to identify some of the fundamental questions the organization will face with respect to literacy and education as the next millennium approaches.

2. The scope of SIL's work in literacy and education

2.1 Basic facts and figures

According to the best data available, the following facts summarize SIL's work in minority language literacy.

- Some literacy work has been done in 760 different languages.
- Two thousand different pedagogical titles have been developed and published.
- Ten thousand different titles of easy reading materials have been published.
- Fifteen thousand teachers have been trained.
- Several million people have become literate.
- SIL has approximately 2,500 trained linguists at work in the field.
- Three hundred and thirty-five literacy specialists have been trained and assigned to field work.
- SIL has played a direct or indirect role in the development of mother tongue education programs in seven countries.
- SIL has become a consulting agency to UNESCO in adult literacy.

- SIL has been described by a leading authority in adult literacy as the world leader in adult literacy among language minorities.

As a further indication of the scope of expected future work in literacy, SIL field entities are projecting a need for the following resources in the next ten years: *(a)* an additional 1,085 literacy workers and consultants, and *(b)* funding resources of $150 million (to meet the literacy goals they would like to set or are being asked to meet).

Despite all of the work done, it seems like even more is being called for. Why? The next two sections will seek to answer this question.

2.2 Patterns in the growth of SIL's work in literacy

By 1966, SIL had been at work for thirty years. The following table shows the comparative growth since then in terms of new language projects begun, projects completed, and literacy personnel assigned.

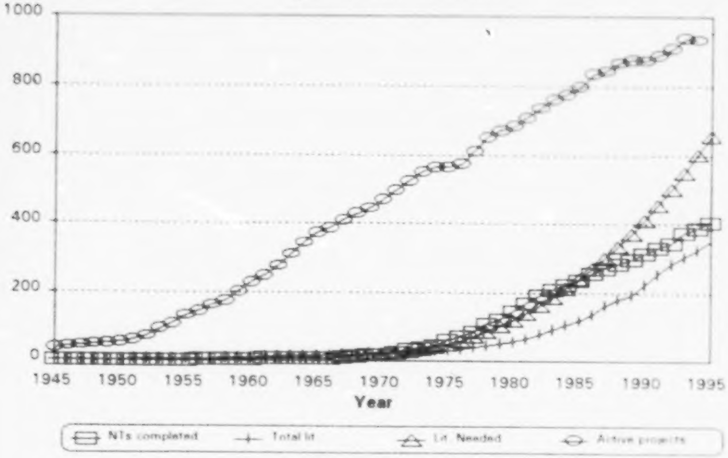
Table 1. A comparison of projects begun, projects completed, and total literacy workers assigned in the last thirty years.

	Total new projects begun	Projects completed	Literacy workers assigned	Projects per literacy worker
1966	389	8	13	30.0
1981	878	169	66	13.3
1995	1,390	403	335	4.2

In the thirty years since 1966, several facts stand out. The number of language projects begun has increased by a factor of 3.6. In the third column, we note that the number of projects completed has increased by a factor of 50, one indication of the tremendous lead time needed to see this goal accomplished. From column four, we observe that the number of literacy workers assigned has increased by a factor of almost 26. Finally, from the last column, we note that the ratio of projects to literacy worker has decreased from 30 in 1966 to 4.2 in 1995.

Interestingly, when we compare the two columns on completion of language projects and the assignment of literacy workers, we note the two growing very much in parallel. This observation is further exemplified in the following graph.

Graph 1. Map of the history of the assignment of literacy personnel against language programs, projects completed, and total literacy personnel needed.



2.3 What people are needed to do the job SIL wants to do?

The above graph plots the relationship among four factors: number of active language programs, number of projects completed, number of total literacy personnel, and number of literacy personnel needed (defined as the number assigned plus the number further requested). Two observations stand out. First, the number of literacy personnel assigned closely tracks the number of projects completed

Secondly, the number of literacy personnel needed appears to track most closely the number of active language projects.

What do these correlations suggest? First, it seems reasonable to suggest that over the years, we have come to recognize the need to support the normal language project with more literacy staff to maximize the impact of the project. This may be happening for a variety of reasons: (1) The linguistic team was not trained in literacy or did not feel up to the task of doing literacy. (2) The linguistic team left the project before enough literacy work had been done. (3) The size of the task required additional personnel to get the job done. (4) The response was so great that additional personnel were needed to handle the burgeoning project.

Secondly, I believe the graph suggests that, for a variety of reasons, field entities are coming to realize that a single two-member team cannot do the whole language project alone. Additional personnel need to be assigned to do the job well. This has become especially the case as the average size of the language community has grown (cf. next section for more data and discussion of this point).

3. The working context of SIL's work

According to the current SIL database, SIL has worked in or is currently at work in 1,390 language projects. According to the same database, the total population of this grouping is 175,546,884 people. Doing some spot checking of the database, it would appear that many of the population figures are estimates from the time that language surveys were done or an SIL team began fieldwork. Therefore, I have estimated that the actual population of this grouping of people is 350 million.

If the adult population of such groups is approximately 50 percent of the total, then the adult population of these SIL language projects is 175 million people. Previous research has established that, worldwide, overall literacy rates among minority peoples are about 22 percent. Therefore, we can estimate that the total illiterate population of this project population is about 136 million people or one in seven of all current illiterates. As a point of comparison, the only entities now facing the problem of a larger population of illiterates are the governments of India and China who, between them, are home to more than half of the world's illiterate population.

The average or mean population of member groups of the SIL project population is 251,000 people (based on the adjusted estimate).

The median size of the project population (half of the groups are smaller, half are larger) is 18,000 people (adjusted according to the above estimate).

The project population includes 223 groups with a population greater than 100,000 people (unadjusted) and sixty-eight with a population greater than 500,000 people (unadjusted).

According to these calculations, SIL's work has a potential impact on one of every sixteen individuals living today.

3.1 Shifting circumstances

At least eighty independent countries have come into existence since SIL began its work. Most of these are developing nations having complex sociolinguistic profiles further complicating the basic work of literacy and education.

The world's population in 1936 was 2.2 billion people. It is now 5.6 billion people. The estimated number of illiterates in 1936 was 325 million people. Today it is estimated at 1 billion.

In 1936, governments controlled and spent 80 percent of all capital available for international development. Such capital was spent according to political and humanitarian criteria. Today, two-thirds of all capital available for international development (mostly as business investment) is in private hands. Spending choices are driven primarily by return on investment, not humanitarian concerns.

3.2 Changing venues and growing populations

SIL began its work in the Americas with the work spreading to other parts of the world as personnel and circumstances permitted. While this progression is quite well known, few have taken the time to reflect on the demographic implications of this spread. The data in table 2 provide a more detailed look at some of the demographic implications of SIL's growth and spread.

Table 2. A comparison of the growth of new language programs in various parts of the world along with an indication of the population implications of these programs.

	1936–1965	1966–1981	1982–1995	Total programs	Mean population	Median population
Africa	17	136	151	304	241,527	73,000
Americas	242	157	86	485	45,027	5,000
Asia	56	58	108	222	98,873	14,000
Eurasia	0	9	20	29	1,559,106	194,000
Pacific	74	129	146	349	6,160	2,500
Total programs	389	489	511	1,389		
Total population	25.4 M	46.1 M	100 M	171.5 M		
Mean population	65,396	94,279	195,885		--	
Median program population	7,000	10,000	10,000			
Programs above 100,000 people	38	85	105			

In the first period of SIL's history (1936–1965), 62 percent of all new language programs were in the Americas. In contrast, in the third period, 17 percent of new programs were in the Americas while just over 50 percent were in Africa and Asia. From the last column in Table 2, we note that the median size of all language projects in the Americas is 5,000. In contrast, the median population of language projects in Africa is 73,000, in Asia 14,000, and in Eurasia 194,000 (all unadjusted figures). Clearly, there has been a dramatic change in the demographics of SIL projects as it advanced into Africa and Asia. The typical language project in these areas is fifteen times larger than that of the Americas.

The shifting demographics are further exemplified by an examination of the data in the next to the last row in table 2. Here we note that there has been a very significant increase in the likelihood that a language project will have a large population. In the first period (1936–1965), one in ten language projects had a population of 100,000 people or more. By the time of the third period (1982–1995), one in five language projects could be expected to exceed 100,000 people. (The interested reader is referred to the Appendix for a further breakdown of new projects by population size over the history of SIL.)

Furthermore, this geographically shifting focus is inversely related to literacy. Five percent of all illiterates are to be found in the Americas, while Africa and Asia account for 80 percent. In the last twenty to thirty years, new SIL work has shifted from an area where there was relatively little concern about illiteracy, to areas where illiteracy is a monumental problem.

3.3 The education problem

To most of us, it is intuitively obvious that a child can be most effectively educated in a language the child understands and speaks. This assertion is being increasingly endorsed by national and international policy and opinion makers as well. Conversely, nation builders have sought to forge national identities and standards through the medium of a single common language—often a colonial language.

There is a growing realization in some regions that the insistence on a single language of education is a significant factor in the failure of education. Africa—the area with the greatest degree of language incompatibility for school children (less than one in ten speaks the language of education at entry)—is also the area where the least progress has been made in education for children according to a recent report from UNESCO[2]. In a document prepared for the World Social Summit, African leaders agreed to the following statement: "In all cases, Audience Africa proposed guaranteeing to every pupil entering the formal system at least four years uninterrupted elementary study to prevent the relapse into illiteracy. **This education must as far as possible be given in the child's mother tongue in such a way as to ensure bilingual education in a more widely used language.**" It should come as no surprise, then, that Africa is talking more and more about mother tongue education at the Ministerial level. As the primary medium of available linguistic expertise, SIL stands squarely in the center of this picture.

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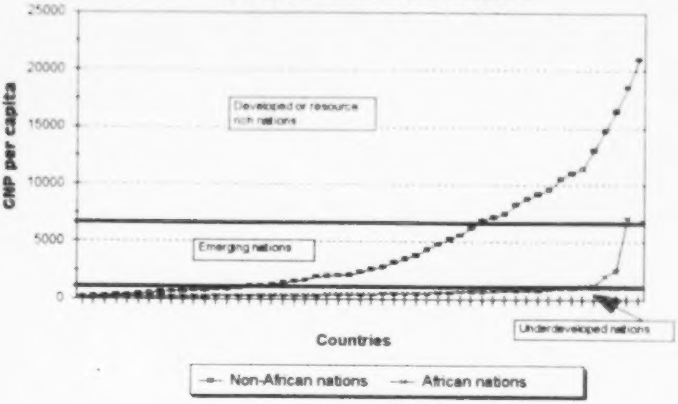
[2] UNESCO, 1995. Audience Africa. Final Report of a conference on Social Development: Africa's Priorities. UNESCO, Paris.

3.4 Declining resources

For years, developing nations could depend, to a certain extent, on help from colonial mentors, East-West powers competing for favor, and growing markets for commodities. In the last twenty years, this "safety net" has been almost totally destroyed by (1) the massive economic readjustment brought on by OPEC, and (2) the end of East-West tensions. As developed nations have spent more for energy, the relative value of other commodities has dropped substantially with developing nations that bear the brunt of such declines. With the end of the Cold War, Eastern and Western nations not only stopped competing for the political allegiance of the developing nations, but Western development funding began to shift to Eastern Bloc nations devastated by socialist economic policies.

Africa is the continent hardest hit by this geopolitical adjustment. The present economic condition of Africa is vividly illustrated in the following graph.

Graph 2. Gross National Product (GNP) per capita
African versus Non-African



Those countries above the $7,000 level (each data point represents several countries) are the so-called "developed nations." A few nations are in this category by virtue of extraordinary resources rather than general level of economic development. Note that only one African country, Libya, is at this level. The second level represents the emerging nations and a couple of African nations—South Africa and a couple of the other North African countries—fall into this category. All of the sub-Saharan nations fall into the lowest level in contrast to a small number of the rest of the non-African nations. One cannot be surprised, then, to learn that Africa is especially sensitive to even small reductions in development assistance. Since the reductions have not been minor, however, the continent has been devastated and is desperate for any help it can get.

Who is left to help the developing nations? Much of this burden is being shifted to non-governmental organizations (NGOs)—local, national, regional, and international. Whether these NGOs are up to the task remains to be seen. As one of the larger and more visible NGOs working in the developing world, much is being asked and even more is being expected of SIL.

SIL and its members tend not to think of themselves in such "global" terms. Nevertheless, SIL is well on its way to becoming a proverbial "500 pound gorilla" in the field of minority literacy. Whether SIL wishes to have this identify is another matter. SIL field entities and staffs are not looking for more work to do. Many are not comfortable heading large projects. In fact, many worry that they are not doing enough in the projects they are already managing. Some members worry about a loss of focus or a drift from historical values.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that SIL is a large NGO working broadly in changing and difficult times. Furthermore, the work of the organization raises expectations in some host countries. A central challenge is going to be that of responding to current challenges without compromising traditional program activities important to the organization, its members, and its supporting constituency.

4. Implications

This sketch of the context of SIL's work in mother tongue literacy and education suggests at least three major implications. These are (1) the need and/or pressure to do more work in literacy and mother tongue education, (2) the need to assume a role as an international leader in mother tongue literacy, and (3) the need to take appropriate internal steps to accomplish implications (1) and (2). Each of these assumptions will be discussed briefly below.

4.1 Increasing work in literacy and mother tongue education

For the many reasons already discussed, clearly SIL field entities can expect to be asked to do more work in literacy and mother tongue education as time goes by. This will require greater resources as well as greater administrative decision-making in setting priorities, evaluating official requests for assistance, and managing larger projects.

At the same time, SIL administrators will need to grapple with the problem of maximum capacity; i.e., how large of a program is too large. Given its organizational structure and style of work, few SIL field organizations are capable of assuming primary responsibility for national level programs. Even a larger regional project will tax SIL capabilities in some cases.

4.2 International leadership in minority language literacy

SIL is already recognized by many as one of the primary international resources in minority literacy and, to a lesser extent, mother tongue education. Besides being a technical resource, SIL will need to learn to play an appropriate role in international fora where mother tongue literacy is discussed, debated, evaluated, and funded. This means time needs to be spent in international conferences and in networking with international agencies that help shape policy and strategy in the field of literacy.

4.3 More resources to support more work

Implications (1) and (2) entail the need for greater resources in personnel and funding. In the case of personnel, the need will be not only for more personnel, but also for more personnel with a higher level of professionalization. In the case of funding, new sources will have to be identified and better internal expertise developed to manage the funding obtained.

5. Conclusion

Every organization grows and adjusts to its surroundings. Even though SIL does not consider that its basic mandate or strategy has changed, the context in which it does its work has clearly changed. These external changes require some adjustments on SIL's part as the "cost of doing business." This is not to suggest that SIL will have to change its fundamental character or goals. Rather, modest tactical adjustments should suffice to confront the future visible in the "literacy crystal ball."

Appendix

Table 3. Distribution of new language programs begun by SIL during its history according to period of time and the population size of the language group.

Period Population	1936–1965	1966–1995	Totals
0–999	76	115	191
1,000–4,999	79	245	324
5,000–14,999	93	201	294
15,000–49,999	81	179	260
50,000–99,999	21	68	89
100,000–499,999	28	132	160
500,000+	11	61	72
Totals	389	1,001	1,390

Can They Really Read Those Long Words?

Patricia M. Davis

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Many of the languages in which SIL members work are characterized by very long words. Although it is not necessarily more difficult for individuals to learn to read in these languages, the teaching of reading should include practice in chunking. The following article describes the reading processes involved and also lists teaching methods that have been successful.

Eye movements

The complex facets of the reading process are addressed by several bodies of research. Extensive investigation of readers' eye motions published by Huey in 1908 established the concept of a visual field, the center of which is called the FOVEA. The eye moves along a line of print in jumps called SACCADES, stopping briefly to fixate upon small sections (Carpenter and Just 1977:110). Six to eight letters are clearly perceived as the fovea comes to rest on a line of print (Huey 1968:67; Rayner 1981:146). Fixations are frequent (Stanovich 1991) and are longer on grammatical elements and ambiguous or infrequent words (Rayner 1981:146–47; Downing and Leong 1982:145), and, according to Downing and Leong, "most studies...have found that eye movement patterns are determined directly by the difficulty of the material being read" (1982:144). However, in addition to the data received through foveal vision, a reader also gathers some information (such as the shape of the next word) from the less-clear periphery (Huey 1968:67; Rayner and McConkie 1977:198; LaBerge and Brown 1986). With reference to these perceptual spans, Rayner and McConkie assert that "no more that 15 to 17 letter positions can be taken as the normal area from which a reader identifies words...and that is seldom that a text unit as large as a phrase will lie completely within this region" (1977:199).

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[1] Davis, Patricia M. 1994. Literacy Acquisition, Retention, and Usage: A Case Study of the Machiguenga of the Peruvian Amazon, 35–42. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Texas at Austin. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms.

This discussion is relevant to the teaching of reading in polysynthetic languages characterized by series of morpheme sequences longer than the normal perceptual span. Whereas in English, entire words—and even as many as two or three words—can usually be perceived by foveal vision, readers of agglutinative languages are able to perceive few entire words, even with the aid of peripheral vision.

Short term memory

Coupled with visual limitations is the limitation of short term memory. Miller established that immediate memory is limited by the number of items or "chunks" of information it can hold at one time and suggested normal limits to be about nine binary digits, seven letters of the alphabet, or five monosyllabic English words (1956:131)—a rule of thumb later referred to as SEVEN, PLUS OR MINUS TWO (1967:14). Unrelated bits of information difficult to remember in isolation (for example, 9, 1, 4, 9, 8, 4) become manageable when organized into meaningful wholes (such as, 8/4/1994). Thus, Miller concludes that difficulty depends primarily upon the length of the sequence, independent of the amount of information subsumed under its individual components (1956:133). These units can come to represent large amounts of information (ibid., 136). Miller reiterated his findings in 1967. He recognized that the units defined by the reader and the span of immediate memory severely limit the amount of information that we are able to receive, process, and remember. "By organizing the stimulus input simultaneously into several dimensions and successively into a sequence of chunks, we manage to break (or at least stretch) this informational bottleneck" (Miller 1967:42-43). Weaver (1977:35-36) understands Miller's application to be the organization of letters into words, and then words into phrases which "are perceived, learned, and processed while being read as units" (ibid., 36).

Perceptual spans

When the reader uses a perceptual span that is too narrow, focusing only on small units such as the letter and syllable, reading comprehension suffers (Downing and Leong 1982:143). Reading researcher Kenneth Goodman describes this phenomenon: "I have encountered many youngsters who are so busy matching letters to sounds and naming word shapes that they have no sense of meaning of what they are reading" (1982b:66). These readers also miss important syntactic and semantic clues (ibid., 90). Goodman's experience leads him to believe that psycholinguistic universals are such that "the reading process will be much the same for all languages with minor variations to accommodate the specific characteristics of the orthography used and the grammatical structure of the language" (ibid., 67). See also Goodman (1982a), Alegría and Morales (1991), and Gough and Juel (1991).

Research abounds to the effect that the word is the unit of reading (Stanovich 1991; Morris 1992). According to the above discussion, however, the perceptions that words bounded by space are the basic units of reading is probably based upon English and European languages and is not appropriate for the long sequences of polysynthetic languages. Henderson (1984:17) and Gleitman and Rozin (1977:48) find the syllable to be a unit generally held to be salient in the perception and production of speech and common to a wide range of writing systems. Henderson also points out that word delimitation tends to be found only in alphabetic writing, in contrast to oral language where word boundaries are not systematically indicated by phonetic features (1984:19). Most of the English language research, however, fails to discuss morpheme recognition apart from the word—a concept that is crucial to comprehension in polysynthetic languages. In this regard, Pierce cited the need to list morphemes, rather than words, in a word list compiled for Turkish since "verb and noun stems rarely occur without some sort of inflection or derivation, and the counting of each ... as a different item would make a word list meaningless" (1960:6).

Examples

Describing how the reading process takes place for speakers of the Guahibo language of Columbia, field linguist and reading specialist Riena Kondo (personal correspondence, September 1994) advises that when literacy teaching was first begun she suspected Guahibo long words might need extra teaching. Thus length was controlled while beginning students learned that two letters together (a syllable) can represent a sound, and two syllables pronounced together can have meaning (a word). Thereafter, length of words was not found to be a serious problem. Kondo writes:

> I believe this is because they read by morphemes. That is, they read a new word by syllables to a point where something makes sense (perhaps a one-syllable prefix plus a root); then they read to a place where more meaning has been added (another morpheme or two) and adjust their understanding of the word. This they do morpheme by recognizable morpheme until the end of the word, without needing to pause, since their brain processes each added bit of information and adjusts the perceived meaning instantly ....
>
> More fluent readers read by morphemes in another sense. They sight-read morphemes or clusters of morphemes and therefore read words in chunks like *bajara-powa-jawabelia* "to that woman (north, south, or unknown direction)," which contains seven morphemes, three chunks. There is no doubt that reading practice helps with reading long words more fluently, as readers learn to read more chunks by sight.

Kondo tried breaking long words, thinking it might facilitate reading, but testing showed readers, particularly slow readers, were confused by spaces that fell in the wrong places. In the end, only one modification proved helpful: hyphens are now written to distinguish the syllable or morpheme boundaries in vowel clusters, which potentially could be isolated syllables, diphthongs, or occasionally tripthongs (e.g., *naca-eweta* "they are waiting for us").

Applied linguist Gloria Kindell (personal conversation, October 1994) cites experience from an agglutinative language in Brazil in which perturbation reduces and changes morphemes so that the root morpheme is unrecognizable. In such a case, the reader must use contextual cues as well as information from the syllables in order to construct meaning and may have to read and reread before the word is understood.

Teaching methods

Field linguists and reading specialists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who teach reading in agglutinative languages, relate considerable anecdotal evidence indicating that beginning readers tend to bog down in long sequences and that for them to achieve mastery the learning process is longer than for short-word languages (personal conversations). However, few published descriptions exist for the teaching of reading in polysynthetic languages. In these languages readers must necessarily learn to identify meaningful morphemes and then group them into chunks large enough so that long sequences can be spanned before the capacity of short-term memory is exhausted. To shorten the spans, primer makers for the Piro (Peru) and Choctaw (North America) have separated clitics with hyphens (personal conversations).

Another model, suggested by Burns, uses flip charts for the teaching of Quechua readers. "Without separating the suffixes from the context of the word of which it is a constituent, the flip section subtly indicates the morpheme divisions which native reaction indicates are internalized by the Quechua speaker." The flip section makes it possible to teach or review at least twice as many suffixes, strings of suffixes and combinations of stems plus suffixes that would otherwise be possible (1984:13). The following is an example (Burns 1984:13).

Contrasting stems	Same suffixes	Same stems	Contrasting suffixes and strings of suffixes
pichana	*ta*	*nina*	*chu*
tipina	*ta*	*nina*	*ta*
nina	*ta*	*nina*	*tachu*
Ana	*ta*	*nina*	*pichu*

Davis (1981) developed a different chunking exercise, which was used after the syllables of the word were known to Machiguenga students. The "chunks" used in drills of this type were either morphemes or were particles that frequently occur together, and the arrangement of the drill was intended to show how known parts can be combined into a new word.

---

no ta sa no va ge ta ro tyo
no ta sano vage taro tyo
notasanovagetarotyo

Translation:
I love her very,
very much.

(Davis 1981:277)

A different buildup can help readers understand the way long words pattern.

notakaro	I love her
notasanotakaro	I really love her.
notasanovagetaro	I really love her a lot.
notasanovagetarotyo	I really love her a lot, exclamation!

Linguist Ray Gordon, on the basis of experience in native North American languages, recommends focusing on morphemes and morpheme strings (1994, personal conversation). He also recommends drills in which stems are lined up in a column and the morpheme being focused on is highlighted by its occurrence in identical position in the morpheme string of each example a method similar to that used by Burns.

Grammar drills of the type used in Gudschinsky primers also teach chunking.

Lesson: The morpheme *-asano-* (intensifier)

1. Analysis (breakdown)

notasanotakaro
notakaro

2. Buildup

notakaro
notasanotakaro

3. Comparison

notasanotakaro
noniasanotakero
nokantasanotakero
nokemasanotakero

4. Difference

notasanotakaro
iatashitakero
notayetakaro

A further suggestion comes from Elke Karen, who works in the Central African Republic. Teachers working on a blackboard should be taught to point to individual syllables when they are teaching syllables. However, **the pointer should glide smoothly from one word of the sentence to the next whenever they are teaching a class to read sentences.** "Gliding" the pointer will help the students to read naturally rather than simply calling out choppy syllables or words.

Conclusion

Visual and short term memory limitations prevent readers from spanning entire words in many long-word languages. However, reading fluency can be achieved if learners are taught to group letters into morphemes and other chunks larger than the syllable. A variety of drills can help readers develop chunking skills.

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Biliteracy in Rural Settings: A Look at Some Irian Jaya Literacy Programs

Kay Ringenberg, B.S. M.S. Ed.S., and SIL field linguists: David and Joyce Briley, Anne Sims, and Gilles Gravelle

The following was a paper presented at the International Conference on New Guinea Languages and Linguistics at Universitas Cenderawasih, Jayapura, Irian Jaya, Indonesia on 1 September 1995.

1. Background

The production of literacy materials has progressed from silk screening to desktop publishing within the last decade. By examining the development of literacy programs for language groups that are isolated and rural, one can gain knowledge on how to replicate such biliteracy programs to strengthen overall literacy within each local language while also strengthening the knowledge of the national language. Literacy in both the local language and the national language are needed for solid development.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has worked in Indonesia for over twenty years doing linguistic research in oral languages and developing literature in these newly recorded languages. Literacy for groups with no history of written materials is always a problem. The government of Indonesia has focused on literacy in Bahasa Indonesia, the national language, and rightly so. Working under contracts with the Department of Education and more recently with the Department of Social Affairs and the Rural Development section of the Department of Home Affairs, SIL has teamed with mother-tongue speakers to produce primer series and small libraries in rural settings as well as to encourage non-formal classes in the vernacular and in the national language. The result has been that these monolingual groups are becoming biliterate.

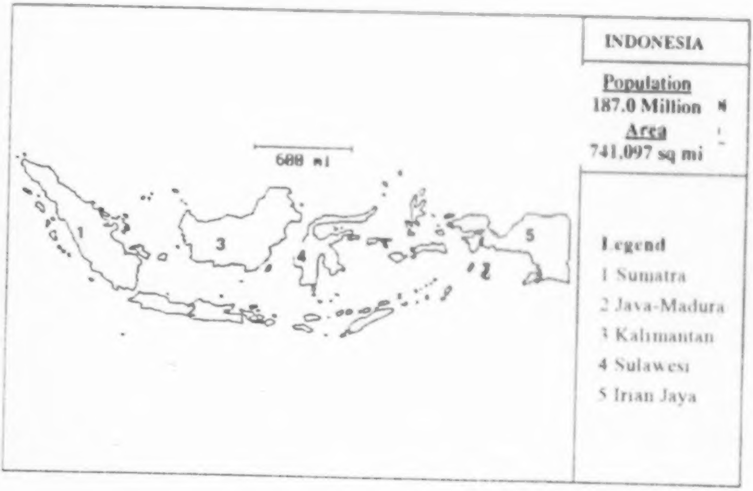
Because many language groups have a beginning literateness in Bahasa Indonesia, there is also a need for transfer materials from the language of wider communication to the language of the local culture, the community language. Ethnic pride and cultural preservation are by products of such biliteracy programs.

2. Statistics for Indonesia

2.1 The country of Indonesia

Indonesia is the largest island nation (archipelago) in the world. Of its 17,508 islands, 8,000 are very small. Over 9,000 islands have permanent residents. The equator dissects Indonesia. Its land mass is 1,900,000 square kilometers (one fifth of its total area) while its seas cover 7,900,000 square kilometers (four fifths of its total area). There are five large island groups: Kalimantan, Irian Jaya (the western half of the island of New Guinea), Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Java-Madura. There are over thirty other smaller island groups and well. (Source: *Indonesia 1993: An Official Handbook*)

Map 1. Map of Indonesia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INDONESIA
Population
187.0 Million
Area
741,097 sq mi
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1 Sumatra
2 Java-Madura
3 Kalimantan
4 Sulawesi
5 Irian Jaya

2.2 Population

Indonesia is the fourth most populated country in the world with over 187,000,000 people. The islands of Sumatra and Java are very densely populated while others, such as Irian Jaya, are sparsely populated. Over eighty percent of the population live either on Java or Sumatra. Of the ten largest cities, only Ujung Pandang in southwestern Sulawesi is located outside Sumatra or Java. There are 67,000 villages according to the government statistics. Of those, at least 15,000 are isolated rural villages. The population consists of a variety of cultural groups and traces its racial origins back to two major areas: Southeast Asia and New Guinea.

There are over 45 million people between the ages of eight and forty. This large age grouping is targeted for development. In the more remote areas, biliterateness in the national language and in the local language will be needed for long-term success in development programs.

2.3 Languages

Although the number of languages in Indonesia is still being researched, it is generally accepted that there are well over 600 distinct languages and many more dialects. The *Ethnologue* lists over 700 living languages admitting that there are areas that have not yet been surveyed (Grimes 1992:565 638). Sixteen languages have over a million speakers. Sundanese and Javanese each have over 25 million speakers. Because of such language diversity, it is important for all Indonesians to have at least some knowledge of the national language, Indonesian.

The Indonesian language serves three main functions:

1. Language of wider communication
2. Language of education and instruction
3. Language of government

The country of Indonesia is still in the second phase of technology development, the industrial phase, where the emphasis is on the State-determined, unified language, Bahasa Indonesia (Rawley 1994:5).

Although many rural, isolated Indonesians are not yet literate in the national language, where schools have been established, the population is somewhat literate in Indonesian (74 percent of the population according to the 1990 census). In a study of reading and teacher training done in 1993, it is still known that only 11.93 percent of the population speak Indonesian as the language of their daily conversation. At least 73 percent of nine-year-old students never or hardly ever speak Indonesian in their homes (Nielsen 1993). There is much room for growth in the use of Indonesian throughout Indonesia.

The local languages are very much a part of the diverse culture that makes Indonesia unique. The constitution supports the preservation and the continual use of the local languages. In the sixth five-year plan of the Indonesian government, there is a strong emphasis on developing the human resources of the country. The preservation of these community languages along with the introduction of Indonesian into those areas where it is not now used is a major goal for the literacy work of SIL.

3. SIL linguistic and literacy work in Indonesia

SIL has worked in seventy-eight local languages of Indonesia. Beginning in Irian Jaya in 1971, most SIL linguistic teams have worked in isolated settings doing descriptive linguistics. The general plan has been to spend from one to two years (more or less) studying and analyzing the local languages (not yet found in written form). Then a basic paper is written which describes the phonology of the language. Once this research has been checked with linguistic experts, the team creates an orthographic coding to record the sound system of the language that has been an oral language up to this point. As a coding system is selected, the linguistic team then focuses more on gathering data and analyzing the data so that those things that are written in the local language will follow the grammatical structure unique to the local language. Texts are constructed and a few local language speakers are taught to read. The goal of this linguistic work has been to provide the local people with a written form of their own language thus preserving their rich cultural heritage.

In the past, SIL literacy work in Indonesia has focused on individual language programs. Each linguistic team sought funds to produce primers and vernacular literature in its own language area. When we had long-term resident linguists, this worked quite well. However, our mode of operation has changed in the past three years. We have teams now who are focusing their work on government development goals that only indirectly involve literacy activities. Because of these changes, we are restructuring our literacy work styles. It is now a more global approach to literacy than the earlier approaches that involves working with Indonesians in each language area. Thus, SIL team members are changing from doing the task themselves to facilitating the work so that local speakers are doing the local language literacy projects themselves.

3.1 Program design

SIL has a three-pronged approach to improving literateness in the areas where it works:

a) The transfer of technology (giving those who are literate the skills to teach their own people to read and write in their own language)

b) Shell book production (providing easy reading materials that will motivate people to read)

c) The production of basic functional literacy materials (developing traditional practical educational materials for those groups who are completely illiterate, even in Bahasa Indonesia, the national language, so that they can function in the wider literate communities of their own nation)

3.2 Personnel

SIL has available in the area seven well-trained literacy specialists throughout the country, three artists, and several coworkers or volunteers for use to implement literacy activities. The personnel and their skill areas are listed below.

1. Literacy Coordinator: Kay Ringenberg has an Ed.S. in language education with over thirty years experience in education and administration. She has been consulting with

SIL since 1985, working primarily in the Americas. She has been with SIL Indonesia since 1991.

2. Shell Book Projects: Joost Pikkert has a Ph.D. in Human Resources Development and is developing easy reading materials through a shell book project with the Institute of Community Services (ICS at Satya Wacana Christian University) which has a good record of servicing remote groups. The Shell Book Team in Irian Jaya has produced seventeen basic health books for use in village education as well as several community development shell books. This group is continuing to produce easy reading books.
3. Consultants: Oh Swee Cheng, a retired school teacher from Singapore, began in late June as a full-time literacy consultant working primarily in the Maluku Province. Joyce Briley, Anne Sims, Jacqui Whisler, and Scott Youngman are linguists with special training in literacy and who serve as part-time field consultants. Rita Eltgroth who serves with Yayasan Betani Irian Jaya, a local foundation, has good background in training local health volunteers. She is a registered nurse and is training an Indonesian nurse to work with her. She also trains Indonesians to teach basic literacy in Indonesian.
4. Illustrators: Mary Beekman, Sandra Stevens, and Sandra Wimbish, excellent artists, serve as illustrators.
5. Nationals: Rachfri Kirihio and Oyang Seseray are Indonesians currently on staff in Abepura and are available for involvement in literacy activities. Both men have been valuable to the Irian Jaya shell book development. Local artists do contract artwork. Wawan Sulistyo, Rosiana Girsang, and Ellia Probowati are Indonesian interns with the Kartidaya organization and are studying to do linguistic and literacy work similar to that done by SIL.

3.3 Locations

SIL currently works with languages in the Provinces of Irian Jaya and Maluku. The government has asked SIL to expand to Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) and Southeastern Sulawesi which is being planned for the near future. The organization which Joost Pikkert is seconded to, ICS from Salatiga, is already working in NTT and East Timor. We have also been asked to expand elsewhere such as to West Kalimantan.

SIL currently works under government contract in thirteen languages and informally in various other languages of Indonesia. These languages have an estimated population of just over one million people, or just under one percent of the total population of Indonesia. Most of the locations are rural, poor, and remote.

4. An in-depth look at two types of literacy programs: primary instruction and transfer skills instruction

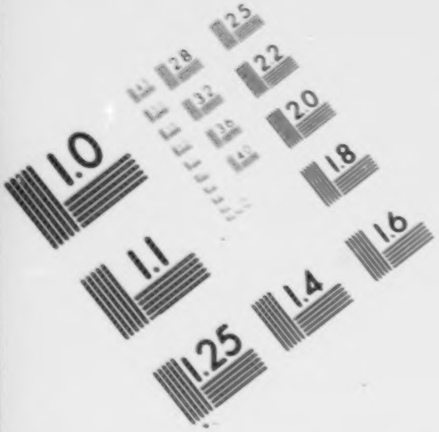
4.1 Primary instruction: the Ketengban, Bauzi, and Yale

Groups that have had no written language and do not yet know Bahasa Indonesia need basic instruction in order to interpret print. For these isolated groups, basic primer series have been constructed and teacher training sessions have been held to teach local people to read, write, and do basic mathematics. Some who show potential have been trained as literacy teachers and supervisors. Included below is a brief summary of very successful programs by some of the linguists involved. The Sims work with the Ketengban, the Brileys work with the Bauzi, and Kartidaya now works with the Yale.

4.1.1 Ketengban language program.

4.1.1.1 *Population and literacy level.* The Ketengban language group is located in the highlands of Jayawijaya in Eastern Irian Jaya. There are about 12,000 speakers of Ketengban. The language contains four dialects that are mutually intelligible. There are about seventy villages where Ketengban is spoken. Ninety-five percent of the Ketengban villages have a monolingual population.

There are between 200 to 300 people who are somewhat literate in the national language, Indonesian. There are no preschools to prepare children to enter schooling in the Indonesian language in the area. There are four elementary schools. Some of the elementary students must board in order to attend school. There is no middle school or high school in the area. The nearest middle school is at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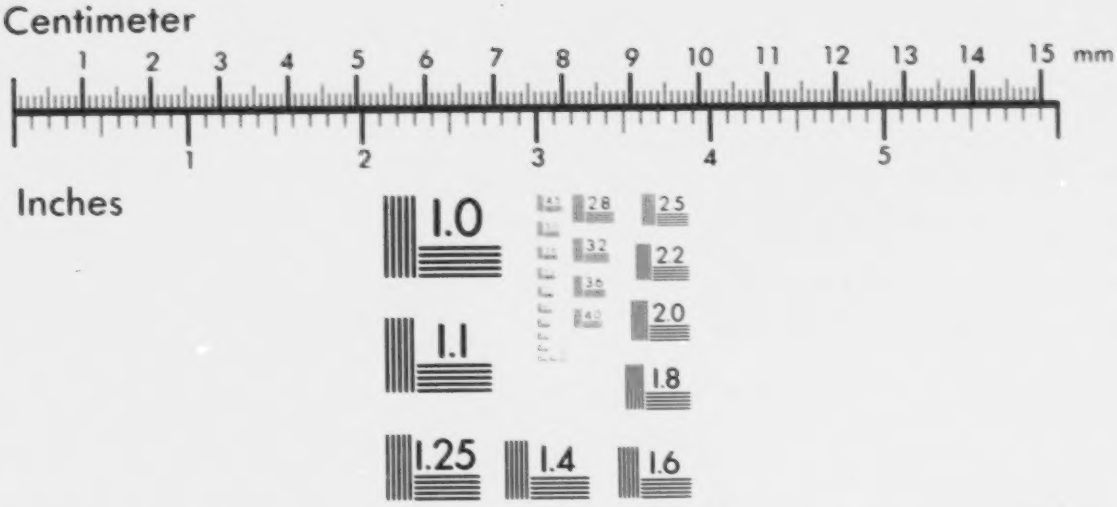
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least a full day's walk from the nearest Ketengban village and an average of a five-day walk from most villages. There are 100 students who have been brought out of the area to attend middle school in Sentani. There are a few high school graduates who have returned to the Ketengban area and are serving as teacher aides in the elementary schools.

4.1.1.2 *Literacy work.* Literacy work was begun in 1975. Dani literacy materials were adapted for Ketengban. There were major problems in trying to teach people to read using these materials. The SIL linguists were asked to work in the area and complete the linguistic research. As a part of this on-going research, Andrew and Anne Sims conducted a massive testing program in early 1986 to test the level of literacy in Indonesian and/or Ketengban. It was assessed at that time that less than two percent of the population was literate in any language. Also, sixty beginning literacy teachers were tested. Of those sixty teachers, fifty percent of them could sound out words from the exposed print, either Indonesian or Ketengban. However, testing their comprehension revealed that only two percent of them understood the contents of what they were reading. As a result of this testing, it was obvious that a new program was needed; therefore the Sims began developing the current materials.

In July of 1986, Delle Matthews, a literacy specialist from Australia, began living with the Sims and helped interpret the collected data and helped design the literacy primers. The language data was analyzed using computer tools for letter and syllable frequencies, word counts were conducted, and the generalized data was used to construct the reading series. The lessons contained drills and stories. Anne Sims and Delle Matthews constructed the drills while Andrew Sims with his Ketengban language team collected the stories and rewrote them with the given controlled vocabulary that was prepared from the computer analysis.

The new literacy program was tested over a five-month period in three different classes, each composed of all adult learners over twenty. Each class session was just over an hour in length. Although the class time was long for new learners, it contained some social interaction time, listening to the language being read orally, and writing practice along with the basic primer lesson. The time of day varied to suit the group (i.e., the women's class met at seven o'clock in the morning so that the women could then go to their garden and do other village tasks).

From the testing of the materials, revisions were made. Some of the changes were:

- concrete pictures of items from their culture were used rather than geometrical shapes
- discrimination practice was constructed using actual letters from the language
- the amount of material taught in each lesson was reduced
- much oral practice in reading the language was required
- listening to text material being read in the language was added to each lesson

The revised materials were then tested to see if the changes were acceptable.

From the beginning, the Ketengban literacy program has conducted pretests and posttests so that good measures of progress could be noted. At first, detailed tests were given at the end of each book. However, this proved to be too difficult to manage. At the current time, there is a test midway in the series and at the end of the series. The testing amounts to:

- reading vocabulary words in isolation
- reading drill material orally
- identifying sounds dictated to the learner
- writing from dictation
- comprehension testing over materials read silently

After the materials were constructed and tested, the Sims were ready to begin a massive literacy campaign in Ketengban. They began by calling together all the leaders (political and religious) of the villages. These community leaders had to agree that they wanted the literacy classes to be held in their area and that they would identify the local teacher who would then be trained by the Sims. Out of these general administrative meetings, the first sixty teachers were selected. In some instances those chosen were the literacy teaches under the former system. In other instances, new people were chosen to be trained.

Beginning in January of 1987, the Sims held teacher training sessions in three geographical locations. The teacher training sessions were eight weeks long. Out of the first twenty teachers taught, only twelve were ready to teach when the training ended. The content of the training course included:

- each teacher was taught each book in sequence, lesson by lesson, book by book.
- each teacher had to demonstrate that he could teach each book by teaching his or her peers
- each teacher then took an actual class of pre-literates through the eight-book series
- each teacher had to demonstrate he knew the methodology used in the primer series

From these twelve teachers, four were chosen to be trained as teacher-trainers or supervisors. From these four, one was chosen to oversee the whole program. The other three are continuing to train teachers whenever courses are needed. So far, fifty-five teachers have been trained. There were literacy classes in fifty Ketengban villages in 1994. There is a literacy building, sometimes combined with a health clinic, in thirty-five of the villages. The goal of the literacy program has been that each village will have at least two trained literacy teachers. That goal has not yet been reached.

Each teacher in the fifty villages where schools were started was provided with:

- a wooden storage box for books which locks and contains mothballs
- a complete set of ten books at each book level
- fifteen student slates made of painted triplex
- one teacher chalkboard, chalk, and cloth for erasers
- a set of wall charts for early reading practice and drill
- flash cards and other teaching aids

These materials were funded through private sources and a World Vision development project for the area.

In 1991, the Sims turned the literacy program over to a Ketengban supervisor. It is a stand-alone program now. The Sims are still involved by developing other vernacular literature in Ketengban, and they continue to monitor the program. They have produced information books on health topics, birds, life experiences of the Ketengban people, and have published a trilingual conversation book and an alphabet book.

4.1.1.3 *Current status of literacy in Ketengban.* There is a need to teach those Ketengban who can read in their own language[1] to read in the national language. However, at the present time, the Sims cannot give much time to this project. They are under contract to the Department of Social Affairs and are busy working on community development projects. They would like to see someone, preferably an Indonesian Ketengban speaker who knows Indonesian, teach oral Indonesian in the first three years of elementary school. Indonesian is needed in order for the Ketengban people to interact with government officials and to enter into the wider national culture.

There is the need to write and publish more vernacular literature in the Ketengban language so that those who have learned to read will continue to have new material to read. There are Ketengban people who could write if material production workshops could be funded and supervised. At the present time, there are no funds for producing vernacular literature or for holding writers workshops in the Ketengban area.

The single highest motivating factor for Ketengbans to want to read is their desire to read the Scriptures. About fifty percent of the New Testament is in print and is being widely used. The content of this material is certainly difficult being in the most difficult category: translated materials. However, the Ketengban people are reading the Scriptures with understanding.

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[1] There are over 1,600 graduates from Book 8. In addition, there are other Indonesians who can read Ketengban. Therefore, it is the estimate of the Sims that at least twenty percent of the Ketengban people are literate.

4.1.2 Bauzi language program

4.1.2.1 *Population and culture.* The Bauzi language group of around 2,000 people is located around a lake in West Central Irian Jaya. Although the people were living in isolated family units until about twenty years ago, they now live primarily in seven village areas. Because *sago* trees (the heart of which is used to provide one of their foods) and their traditional homeland area is a distance from the villages, they often spend one to two months at a time away from their village. The Bauzi people are hunters and gatherers who in the past cultivated bananas as their main staple. They also plant cassava, tapioca, and sweet potatoes now.

In the past the political leader was the strongest warrior. Now they have a *korano* who acts as the village chief for governmental programs. Although they are now located in seven village areas, some still live in family units scattered along rivers. The man and his wives make up the unit. Often two brothers will live together with their wives and children. The men know "white magic" to protect their families from harm and also know "black magic." If the man is out of the area, the women know some white magic that they can use for protection.

It takes seven or more years to grow a *sago* palm to maturity, so when they desire *sago*, they travel from their village area to another through the lowlands harvesting trees as they mature and planting other trees. As they move through these areas, they hunt for other edible plants and animals. *Sago* is a food for special occasions like Independence Day (August 17) and Christmas.

4.1.2.2 *Literacy work.* David and Joyce Briley began to do linguistic work in the Bauzi language in 1975. In 1976, they had collected enough language data to write a phonology paper at a workshop under linguist Dr. Kenneth Gregerson. Shortly after that, they began to test their tentative orthography. By 1980, they were ready to produce a trial primer series that they did in a workshop under the direction of Ramona Lucht, a literacy consultant from Papua New Guinea. Bauzi people came and helped in the process. The books were silk-screened on newsprint. (The newsprint paper and folder stock covers which were used had a short life span, about the length of one course.) No local artists had developed among the

Bauzi people at that time. Therefore, the artwork was produced by Joyce Briley and tested for clarity with the Bauzi people. Only things that were a part of their culture and were easily recognizable were used as illustrations. The stories were dictated to the Brileys by Bauzi men. The primers were constructed using the Gudschinsky method. Language Experience Charts and teaching aids using pocket charts were also prepared. Much prereading and prewriting instruction was prepared to be given before beginning the preprimer (the first book in the series). Because the Bauzi language naturally has sentences of great length, the primer stories are not totally natural language but are still acceptable as beginning reading. Vera Stair served as the literacy consultant.

The linguists tested the primers in 1981 and 1982. There were two trial classes that were composed of eight people of mixed ages beginning at about ten and going to over forty. Both men and women were in the same class. After about four months, the classes were divided into fast learners and slow learners and they tested all four books. The older people dropped out of the class before completing the materials.

The testing of this primer series of four books took approximately six months to teach, including a break in between. The revised primers, consisting of six books, were printed using an offset printer with funds from the Asia Foundation. A second set of trial classes was taught by the linguists in 1984 and 1985 in two different villages that took approximately eight months to complete.

In the testing of the literacy materials by the linguists, it was discovered that the Bauzi culture has gender-specific words as well as many cultural overtones in the material. When the Brileys were collecting their material, they used only men to elicit material. Then when they tested the original set of four books, they were in a village that had done away with the custom of taboo words for the different genders. The materials were accepted with the taboo words left in, because the teaching style allows the gender who can not say a taboo word to just substitute an acceptable word when reading that word in a story where it is needed in order to retain the flow of the meaning.

In 1986, the Brileys picked four graduates from the trial classes to prepare as teachers. Two came from the 1981-82 classes and two came from the 1984-85 classes. Teacher's guides were prepared and taught to these men. Then, each teacher had to practice teaching the linguist before he was allowed to teach other Bauzis. The linguists observed in the first classes taught by these new teachers and the use of correct techniques was required. If a new teacher had difficulty teaching a lesson, the Brileys would teach it correctly while the new teacher watched. The quality of teaching was carefully preserved. Also, students were tested at the end of each level. It took over a year to complete this teacher-training. The first Bauzi-taught literacy classes were in 1988-89.

Although the Gudschinsky method is working well for producing readers in the Bauzi language, the use of tightly controlled vocabulary does introduce a simplified language ("primerese") which is not a natural feature of the Bauzi language. This simplified language is only used for the first few books. By Book 5, the language is more natural and follows the Bauzi discourse style. By that level, most of the stories were collected from Bauzi individuals and are written as they were told. The primer series is weak in the amount of handwriting practice required. By Book 4, homework is required which includes writing sentences and stories using vocabulary that has already been learned. This does provide additional handwriting practice.

To date, there are ten books in the Bauzi language in addition to the primer series and more are continually being produced. These books are used by the teachers along with the primer series to read to the students so that they can hear natural language (with its complex, lengthy sentences). In part, this helps to overcome the simplified language introduced in the early primer books. Students in the upper primer book levels can also read these other reading books independently.

Currently there are eight trained teachers, five of whom are actively teaching. To date there are 162 Bauzi adults who have completed formal literacy classes. Many others have learned from relatives who have taken the course. In addition, the few government elementary school children can read Bauzi materials. In 1976, there were no Bauzi literates. Now about ten percent of the

Bauzi people are literate in Bauzi. There are two Bauzi men who have completed elementary school and have received teacher training. One has returned to the area as a teacher, but since has been made Village Secretary and is not teaching. The other was assigned to a different language area.

4.1.3 Yale language program

4.1.3.1 *Population.* The 1,600+ Yale people live in the highlands of Jayawijaya, Eastern Irian Jaya. They are subsistence farmers.

4.1.3.2 *Literacy work.* Linguist Richard Steinbring has done the basic research on the Yale language, but other responsibilities caused him to return to Germany. Literacy Specialist, Delle Matthews lived among the Yale from 1989 to 1991 and developed easy-reading booklets using the silk-screen process. Then, in 1992, the Steinbrings and the Yale writers revised the literacy materials creating the present set of ten primers. This later set was made using a desktop publishing system.

An Indonesian linguist-in-training with Kartidaya, Wawan Sulistyo, is working on the Yale language. He began work among the Yale in 1993 by teaching the Yale Indonesian as he studied the Yale language. He is currently in Singapore taking further linguistic training. Yale speakers are overseeing the literacy program at this time.

Classes are being held in five of the sixteen Yale villages with fifty-eight students ranging from beginners in Book 1 to those in Book 9. Wawan Sulistyo has begun programs in two of those five villages. Two other villages have requested teacher training so that classes can be held. One village is a three day hike from Kosarek. The other village is a two day hike from Kosarek.

It took the Steinbrings three months to train the first set of teachers. The training was given twice a week. The new set of teachers Wawan Sulistyo trained was taught every day for one and a half months. Wawan thinks this second method worked better. There are currently ten trained teachers including Wawan. Seven of those are currently teaching. One has retired and one has village government responsibilities. Wawan teaches when he is in the village. Material incentives are given to the teachers if students pass the tenth level book.

There is a test at the end of Books 4, 7, 9, and 10 for students. Students receive no material reward for completing the series. Book 1 is given to any student who enters the course. Books 2 through 10 are sold for Rp100 each. That is the cost of a box of matches, two cigarettes, a pineapple, or a candle. The incentive for completing the series is to be able to read the scriptures written in Yale and to be able to write letters in Yale. Practice in writing enters the program from Book 1, but creative writing does not enter until Book 7. By the end of Book 10, Yale people can write personal letters in Yale.

An interesting item to note is that a neighboring community development worker from the Nipsan language met with Wawan to ask if he could use the Yale literacy materials and adapt them for Nipsan, although the languages are not mutually intelligible. This shows the great desire for literacy materials in remote groups. Basic linguistic research must be done before the materials could be properly adapted for Nipsan.

4.2 Transfer skills instruction language groups

In contrast to the non-print cultures, several groups in Irian Jaya have literate populations because of the intensive government education program. These literate or semi-literate groups do not need basic instruction. They need practice and aids so that they can transfer the skills of reading and writing in the national language to reading and writing in their own local language. The following description of the Meyah by Gilles Gravelle is a good example of a transfer group.

4.2.1 The Meyah. The Meyah live in semi-nomadic small family groups along the northern coast and Arfak Mountains of Irian Jaya. The largest population center for the Meyah speakers is Manokwari. There are five major population areas in the interior each having an elementary school. Several coastal areas also have elementary schools. Their language area is spread out and the people's educational level ranges from seven highly literate college graduates to those not literate in any language. There are from

15,000 to 20,000 Meyah speakers. The Gravelles allocated in 1985 at the request of TEAM, a mission organization working in the area. TEAM officials wanted the linguistic analysis improved.

The Gravelles' language program from the beginning has focused on developing midlevel reading materials, because there are Meyah speakers who are literate in Indonesian and seem to be able to transfer their reading ability from Indonesian to Meyah. It is the Gravelles' opinion that this ease of transferability is due to a good analysis of the language and a good working orthography that is similar to Indonesian. They have produced vernacular literature around topics which interest Meyahs. One book that has been well received is a history book that presents the chronological history of the Meyahs over the past 250 years. Community development booklets (e.g., a corn planting booklet) have not been well received, because ideas introduced from outside the Meyah culture are not highly valued.

From the beginning of the work in Meyah, literacy has been carried out by a TEAM worker, Teresa Rhoads. However, this work has been focused on literacy for women. She has ten trained teachers who have completed elementary school in the Indonesian school system. There are three important reasons why women have a greater need to become literate in Meyah than men do: (1) Meyah is the language of the home, (2) Indonesian is only used in speaking with non-Meyahs whom women seldom encounter; and (3) women tend to drop out of school before they are fluent in Indonesian.

The current plans under the Department of Social Affairs are to continue working on:

- making blocks for housing construction
- shell books and health courses with the *kaders* (volunteer health workers)
- develop fish ponds (both fresh water ponds and salt water ponds)
- teach the local foundation board members how to write funding proposals and organize community development projects

As time allows, literature on the aforementioned topics will be introduced to the Meyah people.

4.2.2 Other transfer groups in Irian Jaya and Maluku. There are many other groups throughout the eastern regions of Indonesia that are semiliterate to literate in Indonesian. They fall into this category of languages that need transfer materials to become biliterate. However, little is being done to encourage this formally. The Indonesian government made a great step forward in 1987, when they legislated a program to include material from the local language into the curriculum (called *muatan lokal*) which is now in effect. The difficulty comes in training teachers and curriculum writers to produce local materials. The linguistic analysis of the language and a proper working orthography are very important components needed to solve these problems. SIL is continuing to provide consultations to local researchers in over fifty languages of Indonesia.

5. Concluding remarks

Working in vernacular literacy programs presents many problems:

- transportation within the archipelago
- little funding for programs, material development, salaries for literacy teachers, or further training
- local people desire fluency in Indonesian and English for career advancement
- visas for trained expatriates to live long-term in village program areas are difficult to obtain
- the government is interested in community development but is overwhelmed by the task full biliterateness would involve

However, this work has many rewards. When the light dawns on a person that his language can be written and read, it is worth every moment of struggle. Biliteracy in monolingual settings is the goal of SIL Indonesia as an organization. Currently being explored are ways to teach the national language to those monolingual groups. Equally important is biliteracy (transference of skills so that people can read and write equally well in two languages) in those areas of Indonesia where literacy first occurs in Bahasa Indonesia, the language other than the everyday language of the community. Becoming literate in their community language preserves their cultural heritage and supports the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

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Opportunities and Challenges: The Shape of Literacy in Africa Today[1]

Barbara Trudell, Africa Area (AFA) literacy coordinator

Nowhere in the world today is there greater opportunities for SIL than in Africa. Rapidly growing churches fervently desire literature their own languages. Ethnic groups are recognizing the value of developing their mother tongue for cultural preservation and educational opportunities. National governments, newly enthusiastic about developing indigenous languages, court SIL for its experience in mother tongue literacy.

Not surprisingly, this opportunity-rich situation also means that SIL's need for personnel and financial resources in Africa is substantial and growing. In particular, literacy personnel and funding are among the greatest needs expressed by SIL entities in Africa Area. It is hard to overstate the extent of the literacy and education needs in the African continent. SIL estimates show that more than 85 percent of the groups we work with in Africa average less than 25 percent literacy in any language at all.

1. Three major contributing factors

What exactly is the source of these large, ongoing needs for literacy resources in Africa? Three major contributing factors come to mind.

1.1 Supporting NBTO literacy efforts

The number of national Bible translation organizations (NBTOS) in Africa has increased significantly in the last ten years, as has the scope of programs for which they are taking responsibility. Of the eight NBTOs currently operating in Africa, three include seconded SIL field personnel among their staff. These NBTOs are looking for program-level literacy personnel to work with their national counterparts. The other five NBTOs depend on SIL for literacy consultant personnel and funding assistance. Every NBTO has a keen interest in promoting mother tongue literacy as well as Bible translation, since they are deeply aware of the consequences of illiteracy among their countrymen. Not only that, but NBTOs have the ability and the commitment to maintain long-term relationships with the communities and to operate sustained mother tongue literacy programs. Their vision for ongoing mother tongue literacy and Scripture use make them key institutions for sustaining these activities after SIL's own programs are completed.

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[1] The text of this article has been excerpted from a report given by the author at the 1996 International Conference of SIL.

Up until now, SIL literacy personnel and funding have been key to helping the NBTOs gain and maintain momentum in the literacy task. However, their current expansion in literacy programs, on top of SIL's own expanding literacy efforts, is putting a strain on SIL resources. Yet it is imperative that SIL support these NBTOs as they develop mother tongue literacy programs. SIL cannot just congratulate these NBTOs on their vision and then not follow through with the long-term training and consulting they need to be successful. So this is another source of SIL entities' increased requests for literacy resources in Africa.

1.2 Local development initiatives

In many countries in Africa, SIL workers find an increasingly strong desire among indigenous communities for the means to help themselves improve their quality of life. Mothers in Togo want to know how to save their babies from dying of malaria. Cash-poor rural communities in Kenya want to learn to make their own clothing. Ghanaian elders ask to have the traditions of their people preserved in writing. Communities in southern Ethiopia want clean water, and women in rural Cameroon are determined to form and manage their own cassava farming cooperatives.

In most cases the only way to make changes like these happen is through indigenous-language literacy. So enthusiasm for literacy and education in the mother tongue is typically high, and communities are looking to SIL and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for help. This trend is reinforced by current attitudes of international-level funding sources, who are tending to rely more on NGOs and less on national governments to help them implement humanitarian aid initiatives.

Some might question the legitimacy of SIL's involvement in such local level development. Are we turning into a "development organization" or being sidetracked from our original purpose? No. In fact, throughout its sixty-year history, SIL has frequently been part of this kind of local initiative. We have always supported a certain level of grassroots community development work, recognizing that it can be both beneficial to the community and the language group and not inimical to the translation program.

As nearly any SIL field worker can tell you, the connection between literacy and such local development initiatives is strong. This connection, though, may not be immediately obvious to our (mostly) Western eyes. Gerardo Wipio, an exemplary Aguaruna teacher and leader in Peru, once said that "bilingual education has helped us [Aguaruna] to have good health care, and to get justice from the government authorities, and to know the Word of God." A Bimoba man of northern Ghana told me that his community became involved in a variety of development and income-generating projects because of the literacy program. Clearly, becoming literate can make people want to improve their lives further and give them confidence in their ability to do so.

Granted, the implications and consequences of such self-help initiatives are not 100 percent predictable; they do not always develop as we might wish they would. We must remember, however, that these are decisions made by newly empowered people, who are finally able to begin changing their spiritual and personal circumstances after generations of helpless captivity to the political, socioeconomic, and spiritual forces around them.

1.3 National level mother tongue education

At national and regional levels, interest in the development of indigenous languages is strong and growing. At least ten national governments in sub-Saharan Africa are significantly involved in mother tongue literacy. Of these ten, at least six countries are currently implementing or planning programs of mother tongue education for children. A conference of west and central African education ministers held in April of this year highlighted the use of African languages in educational systems.

In most cases this interest in mother tongue education is accompanied by a serious commitment of energy and resources on the part of the government. The Chadian government recently established regional literacy centers in each of its provinces. The government of Mali has been implementing indigenous language education for adults and children for years. A Mozambican government education agency leads the SIL entity in mother tongue literacy programs. The government of Cameroon recently gave its support to expansion of its experimental bilingual education program. Finally, in Ethiopia, one of the most ambitious mother tongue education initiatives in the world is now in its third year, powered by the strong commitment of the Ethiopian national government. These nations are putting a lot of financial and political capital on the line in their determination to see mother tongue education succeed.

These countries are asking SIL for help. Some funding help is being requested, though in most cases they understand that the kind of financing required for a national-level literacy or education program is far beyond SIL's capacity. What these governments want most from SIL is help in training, consulting, evaluation, and other technical aspects of the job. It is not unreasonable for these countries to expect this sort of input from SIL. After all, we are recognized worldwide as having extensive experience in indigenous-language literacy. SIL has supported mother tongue education (or bilingual education) in a number of countries around the world—Peru, Papua New Guinea, Cameroon, Guatemala, Bolivia, and elsewhere—and so we are the natural ones to whom these African countries turn for help. These governments are ready to trust SIL to give fair, competent advice and technical help.

From SIL's point of view, it also makes sense that we give all the help we can. Early in its organizational history, SIL recognized the value of structured mother tongue education for the language groups in which we work. Government-sponsored mother tongue literacy and education programs can be a tremendous aid to SIL literacy and literature in use goals. However, support for national mother tongue education programs is requiring more bilingual education specialists and literacy consultants than SIL is able to field right now.

These factors help explain SIL's burgeoning need for literacy personnel and funding in Africa. Our expectation is that this need will only increase in the coming years, as opportunities for mother tongue literacy work continue to grow.

2. What SIL has to offer

In many ways, SIL is uniquely qualified to help catalyze local and national literacy initiatives.

1. SIL workers are unusual among NGO members in that they actually live for extended periods of time among the people they serve; thus they are likely to be fluent in the local language and familiar with local power structures and ways to get things done. These insights help SIL workers serve as catalysts for effective, community-owned literacy programs.
2. Our training in linguistics gives SIL personnel a grasp of the larger issues of language policy, so that we can give sound advice to local, regional, or national policy makers in education.
3. As an organization, we have decades of experience in mother tongue literacy and language development. Our literacy and linguistics personnel have also been given specialized training in these areas.
4. Our people get results. An examination of the measurable aspects of literacy programs numbers of students in classes, teachers trained, materials produced shows that the presence of SIL literacy workers in a project is directly related to increased output in these areas of productivity. For example, languishing literacy programs are reactivated; the output of publications through language programs is boosted; and fledgling community literacy programs are maintained even while project personnel are on furlough. The more literacy-assigned SIL personnel in a country, the greater the impact on mother tongue literacy programs in that country. It's that simple!

5. SIL's volunteer status makes its help affordable to governments and communities who are under financial restraints.

3. New opportunities, new implications

At SIL's current level of involvement, our literacy resources in Africa are strained. Even if we were to stick to "business as usual"—supplying literacy support to about half of the SIL translators, and offering minimal literacy consultant help to non-SIL entities—the rate at which SIL's work in Africa is growing is going to require much more literacy personnel and funding. New circumstances, however, are arising which could multiply our efforts far beyond that to which we have become accustomed. We are being offered new opportunities to contribute to the spread of mother tongue literacy in Africa, in ways that go well beyond our traditional "business as usual." Below, three areas of opportunity are explored: the potential for large literacy programs, the increased role of NGOs in African development, and the increase in national interest in mother tongue education.

3.1 Large literacy programs

Many language groups in Africa have the potential for developing large mother tongue literacy programs. In these groups local enthusiasm for literacy is high, and the population is numerous enough to make a program of tens of thousands of students possible. SIL's largest single-language literacy program in the world, the Ngbaka literacy and education program of northwestern Zaire, is unique mainly in that it has had the needed funding and SIL personnel resources available to support the nearly 40,000 students involved. Other language groups, given similar input of resources, could also reach the 40,000+ mark. (Bear in mind that for a medium-to-large language group, say 500,000 speakers or more, 40,000 people is still only eight percent or less of the population.)

How seriously will we commit to helping large programs find the resources they need to operate on an ongoing basis? Certainly SIL Africa Area entities are committing themselves to support the large programs that are emerging in their midst. High priority is given to such programs in terms of assigned personnel and project funding.

In Ghana, Burkina Faso, Western Zaire, and Cameroon, entity administrations are looking to SIL International and others to find the funding and personnel to support large projects. It would not be surprising to see more and more Africa Area entities join that list in the coming years, as more community literacy programs with strong growth potential emerge.

It is important to realize that these large programs began as small programs. They grew larger because key factors came together to make them successful. SIL workers committed extensive time and resources to the programs. National counterparts proved themselves capable and committed, and the needed entity infrastructures were there. So in a sense these large programs have grown naturally, out of the enthusiasm of the communities, not out of an arbitrary entity decision to "begin a large program." The potential for more large literacy programs across Africa is great, given the commitment of SIL field personnel and their national counterparts and the interest of the communities in mother tongue literacy.

For the field entity, the implications of supporting these programs include conscientious program management and a strong commitment to program continuity. For the resource-providing organizations, supporting large literacy programs implies renewed commitment to recruitment and, more especially, to seeking funding for those programs.

However, field entities recognize the fantastic possibilities such large programs offer. The fields are ready to make the commitment, but they cannot do it alone.

3.2 Increased role of NGOs in development in Africa

The last few years have seen an increased focus by large funding agencies on NGOs as partners in humanitarian aid initiatives in Africa. Dissatisfied with the results of partnership with national governments, these funding and aid agencies are turning to the private sector where they expect to find greater accountability and better use of funds.

This trend has important implications for SIL, both as an NGO itself and in its relationships with NBTOs and other nongovernmental groups. It appears that some community-oriented organizations could be considered more seriously as channels for large donations than they have been in the past. Not only so, but the shift in allocation of funding resources is causing national and regional governments to seek partnership with NGOs, as the more likely candidates for international funding.

In some ways this is a happy problem, since we know that these funds could do a lot of good. Large-scale funding like this could be the answer for the large literacy programs that currently struggle to make ends meet. We also want to see our national colleagues given the help and recognition they deserve. However, international funding sources certainly expect higher levels of accountability, management, and good planning than have our traditional donors.

Responding to this trend would require two kinds of action. First, we in SIL would need to strengthen our ability to manage large projects, so that we could apply for large funding with confidence. This means recruiting and placing more people trained in reporting, management, and evaluation. We would also have to take steps to ensure continuity of large programs once they are begun. Second, we would need to make it a priority to train and equip our NGO partners to plan, present, and implement programs that will be attractive to international funding sources. All of this spells **more personnel**!

3.3 Increased interest in national level mother tongue education

As mentioned earlier, the national governments of a number of African countries are seriously interested in developing the indigenous languages of their nations. This interest includes a strong focus on providing mother tongue literacy for adults, education for children, or both. Their expectations are that SIL will be a strong participant, given our expertise and experience, our history of support for mother tongue education in Latin America, and our organizational emphasis on language development. In the eyes of other NGOs and governments, we are naturals for this part.

In considering this situation, SIL's Literacy Advisory Board has recommended that we beware of accepting lead agency status in national education programs, and that we limit our contributions to technical consulting in such areas as training and materials production. However, even this level of involvement will not be not easy to achieve. SIL's consultant resources in bilingual education are surprisingly thin, considering the extent to which SIL has been involved in bilingual education programs around the world. Typically our expertise is homegrown and locally applied, therefore, few of those who have been involved in one bilingual education program feel qualified to serve as consultants in other countries. So responding to these consultant requests would mean identifying and training a corps of bilingual education specialists to serve as consultants specifically for national-level assistance and consulting.

Even if SIL does limit its contributions to technical consulting, the implications of such large scale mother tongue literacy would be felt by every member in the branch. Local implementation of national programs would mean requests for local-level training and consulting in literacy, probably beyond what the translator had planned to do or feels qualified to do. In these cases it would be essential to develop branch-wide buy-in for assistance to government educational programs. Further training for literacy and translation people on the field would be needed to equip them to give the assistance being asked of them. The fields would also require many more literacy workers who could come alongside the translators and help them meet this increased challenge at the community level.

4. What then must we do?

Both field entities and SIL International are committed to a language project strategy that includes literacy as a key component. Experience has shown that the shape of the literacy component will vary, depending on the obstacles and opportunities of a given situation. Today, SIL field entities in Africa are responding to the opportunities being presented to them; but they cannot carry through on these strategic decisions without help from their resource-providing entities. SIL needs to move forward in supporting the literacy efforts of its own field personnel and NBTO colleagues in Africa, as well as reinforcing government and community efforts in mother tongue literacy. In every case this will require more people and more funding. The resource-providing entities will need to make strategic decisions that support field entities' commitments, and all personnel will need to cooperate even more closely with each other.

These opportunities, to multiply SIL's literacy efforts and to make a significant impact on the mother tongue literacy rates in Africa, do not require us to abandon or dilute our priorities for the language project task. To the contrary: these strategies are being formulated by SIL entities in Africa as a means to the goal of ongoing literature in use. The challenge, then, is: will we support them, and can we afford not to?

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Announcements

Award-winning Recognition by the International Reading Association

Congratulations go out to Patricia Davis and Linda Easthouse for their outstanding work in SIL. Pat Davis was awarded the Outstanding Dissertation Award for her dissertation, "Literacy Acquisition, Retention, and Usage: A Case Study of the Machiguenga of the Peruvian Amazon." Pat completed her dissertation at the University of Texas at Austin. Her dissertation focused on the results of the Machiguenga bilingual education program she and her husband implemented more than thirty years ago in Peru. An excerpt from this dissertation has been included in this issue (pp. 21–29).

Linda Easthouse received the Constance M. McCullough Award that helps support profession development activities outside North America. Linda works in the South Conchucos region of Peru. The Constance M. McCullough Award was given to assist the South Conchucos Teacher Training Project that provides training to teachers as well as some of the staff and students of a local teacher's training college. The project also develops primary school materials in Quechua and materials in Spanish for second language acquisition.

Call for Assistance

An updated, revised version of *Bootstrap Literature* is in the planning stage. Your input is invited and needed. If you have had experience (either positive or negative) in training indigenous writers, please tell us about it. Also, what articles or books published in the last twelve years do you recommend? Send your thoughts to Peggy Wendell, c/o Notes on Literacy, 7500 W. Camp Wisdom Rd. Dallas, TX 75236 or you can e-mail Peggy at Peggy_Wendell@sil.org.

notes on
LITERACY

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Why Might Good Readers Stop Reading?

Patricia M. Davis

Patricia Davis is an international literacy consultant for the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). Dr. Davis received her B.A. degree in elementary education from Dallas Baptist University, her M.A. in foreign language education, and her Ph. D. in Education from the University of Texas at Austin. She served for twenty years in Peru with the Machiguenga people.

Why might good readers stop reading? The question was precipitated by a small group of individuals identified during research among the Machinguenga of the southern Peru jungle[1]. Representative of this group is Abel (not his real name), a man of some thirty-four years of age, who—at the cost of much effort and time—persevered in school as an adult until completing all of his elementary education. Abel's reading test showed him to be a proficient reader of basic-level material. He also demonstrated good comprehension and recall. However, Abel's statement to us was that he had not read since his house and books burned some time ago and that he had forgotten how to read. Since other Machiguengas who complete elementary school are almost all avid readers and avid learners, the lack of interest represented by Abel's small group merits attention.

In a landmark review article of reading theory and practice Stanovich (1986) cites evidence that **reading acquisition itself facilitates phonological awareness** (1986:363). Efficient phonological decoding is the key mechanism in comprehension (ibid., 369, 373). When decoding skills are developed to the point of automaticity, word recognition is achieved by direct, nonmediated visual access which enables the individual to read with speed and ease. This frees more short-term memory capacity from the lower-level processes to concentrate on meaning, vocabulary building, and increasing general knowledge (Stanovich 1986:369 82). Thus, the expectation is that by the time a reader has reached fluency, the task has become both easy and enjoyable and will therefore be continued.

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[1] The Machiguenga, an ethnolinguistic group variously estimated to number between 8,000 to 12,000, belong to the Arawak language family and inhabit the remote eastern slopes of the Andean foothills in the southern jungle of Peru.

Why might readers leave off reading? The following are possible reasons.

1. They never developed full fluency, thus the effort required to read their school texts and other materials brought them near to frustration level and damaged comprehension (Kletzien 1991:70, quoting Afflerback and Johnston 1984:314). The experience was therefore not pleasant enough for them to wish to continue.
2. Lack of broad exposure to reading may have prevented these students' development of an awareness of the organization of text. This makes reading more difficult and less enjoyable (Kletzien 1991:79).
3. They may not have learned sufficient reading strategies and when to employ them (ibid.).
4. They may have failed to have enough reading successes, compared to peers or by their own standards, to have developed positive affect for reading. This is a crucial ingredient in continuance (ibid., 80). Paris, Lipson and Wixson (1983) distinguish between the **skill** and the **will** to use known strategies to reach reading goals.
5. Material sufficiently interesting to stimulate continued reading may have been lacking. Gudschinsky states, "There must be enough material ... so that he [the reader] can find pleasure in reading while the next stage comes around" (1973:10). Several of those interviewed supported this possibility with statements such as, "There is nothing to read." "How am I going to get money to buy books?"
6. The milieu may have discouraged rather than encouraged reading. Gillette and Ryan make the point, "Mass illiteracy generates its own justification and logic. Nobody can read, hence communication is by oral rather than by written means.

That being so, the illiterate is in no way marginal—he is on centre stage—and consequently has no reason to learn to read" (1983:24). Although Machiguenga communities in general now make extensive use of literacy, the individuals who had left off reading belonged, in the main, to families with a high illiteracy rate. In their circle, communication is undoubtedly oral rather than written.

7. Little practical use may have been found for reading. Mikulecky (1990:28) cites Heath (1980) who lists the purposes of literacy as instrumental, social-interactional, news-related, memory-supportive, substitution for oral messages, provision of permanent record, and confirmation. Mikulecky (1990:28) also cites a study by Mikulecky, Shanklin, and Caverly which identified the following adult purposes for reading:

   a) to keep up with what is going on
   b) for relaxation and personal enjoyment
   c) to find out how to get something done
   d) to study for personal and occupational advancement
   e) to discuss with friends what has been read

   In a society where books and paper are scarce, newspapers nonexistent, and pamphlets and letters rare, individuals may never have developed personal habits which sustain reading.

8. The professed nonreaders may have been understating. This possibility would be in keeping with the Machiguenga sense of modesty. Likely they have not stopped reading entirely but, rather, they read seldom. They do not count their occasional perusal of their children's school texts and notebooks, reading of signs, or other sporadic literacy events as "reading."

9. A combination of the above times may have curtailed reading.

In conclusion, what lessons can be drawn? The individuals that were interviewed felt their reading skills had deteriorated for lack of practice; thus we learn that even good reading ability can grow rusty. To help, we can do the following.

- Teach reading strategies appropriate for different types of material. These strategies may include scanning, noting titles and subtitles, and also checking the first lines of paragraphs or the conclusion to glean the main idea, then rereading for details.

- Provide instruction concerning the organization of texts. For example, poetry, narrative, exhortative, fables, descriptive, riddles, and procedural texts are all organized differently, and readers can learn what to expect from each.

A continuing supply of interesting, cheap material, however, may be the crucial element to keep good readers practicing and skills sharp. Local news sheets, informative bulletins, or study sheets may be a partial answer. As literacy projects are terminated, one must seek to assure a long-term flow of locally-authored material for the readers who have toiled so hard to achieve good reading skills.

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Why Might Good Readers Not Comprehend?

Patricia M. Davis

For biographical data, see previous article pages 1–4.

Why might good readers not comprehend? The question was simmering within me, especially since research among the Machiguenga[1] had revealed several very skilled readers who were unable to retell the main idea of a test passage, even though they had been allowed time to practice the passage previous to the test. Stanovich's (1986)[2] description of reading processes provided information relevant to the paradox I had observed but also elicited the following questions.

1. The importance of phonological awareness: "Performance of phonological awareness tasks in kindergarten and first grade often predicts subsequent reading achievement better than intelligence tests that tap a variety of cognitive process" (Stanovich 1986:392).
    - Might the development of high phonological awareness explain the development of very fast readers in the fifteen years since I had observed the villagers?
2. The limited capacity of short term memory: "It is not that the good reader relies less on visual information but that the visual analysis mechanisms of the good reader use less capacity" (ibid., 368).
    - By extension, might this mean that it would be possible for very fast readers to use up all the capacity of their short term memory simply to achieve speed, leaving no capacity for comprehension processes?

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[1] The Machiguenga, an ethnolinguistic group variously estimated to number between 8,000 to 12,000, belong to the Arawak language family and inhabit the remote eastern slopes of the Andean foothills in the southern jungle of Peru.

[2] The author highly recommends this article to all SIL reading specialists.

3. The speed of direct visual access: "The existence of a knowledge base does not necessarily mean that the information from it is used to facilitate word recognition ... the operation of rapid visual-access processes short-circuit the use of other information" (ibid., 377).
    - Might this mean that very fast readers could be short-circuiting use of other information related to the meaning?

These questions were still simmering as I arrived for Dr. Diane Schallert's psycholinguistic class at the University of Texas Austin. As the lecture progressed, I sorted through the topics of discussion in relation to the fast, uncomprehending readers I had observed:

Phonemic awareness:	Extremely skilled.
Word recognition	Also very skilled.
Automaticity:	Highly developed.
Literate environment:	Developing; adequate.
Vocabulary development:	More than adequate.

None of these possibilities seemed to explain the phenomenon I was facing. Finally, I posed my question:

> I have recently been testing readers of a language which has very long words[3]. In order to read the language well a person has to develop superior skills. Some individuals could read orally faster than I could listen—I had to have a native speaker listen to the tape to see if they had actually put in all the syllables. Given that level of fluency, they should have been able to comprehend the text; yet they could not tell me what the passages said. Do you think they were too nervous to assimilate the message, or could it be that decoding used up so much capacity in short term memory that none was left to devote to meaning?

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[3] The average length of Machiguenga words has been calculated to be ten to fifteen syllables. Words of twenty-five letters are not uncommon. This feature is characteristic of the Arawakan language family of South America.

Dr. Schallert responded:

> I suppose all of us have had to read something out loud in a performance situation where we really concentrated on enunciation and correct phrasing, and then thought, "Gee! ... What's that? ... I don't know what I read!" Possibly that was happening. Especially **if they interpret reading as reading out loud very quickly**, they might be devoting all their attention to the mechanics rather than to gathering the sense of the passage. You might want to try another reading when the same individuals are not so aware of the performance component. That would be a way to verify what is happening.

As a result of that conversation, my understanding now is that the very fast, phonemically aware but uncomprehending readers I observed failed to understand for two—perhaps three—reasons:

1. Their definition of reading as a smooth, fast, oral production, precluded the need to understand the text.
2. All short term memory capacity was devoted to speed rather than partly to speed and partly to comprehension.
3. In some cases, anxiety may also have been a factor.

I am reasonably certain that these same readers given the same passage under non-test conditions could have deciphered the meaning very ably.

The experience suggests that readers need to be constantly reminded that reading is for meaning, not for speed, especially on reading tests.

Reference

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Bridging Between Two Worlds: A Case History of the Cavasi Reservation

Riena W. Kondo

Riena Kondo graduated with a B.A. in English from the University of California at Davis. Her husband Vic translated the New Testament for the Guahibos of Columbia, and Riena concentrated on the development of materials for literacy and the training of Guahibo writers and editors. She is presently editing the Guahibo-Spanish dictionary while her husband, in partnership with John Waller, is translating the New Testament for the Guayaberos.

Introduction

A segment of a face-to-face, hunting and gathering society, led by one visionary member of their own group, is making a conscious attempt to bridge the huge gulf between their traditional ways and the modern-day society of the Spanish-speaking population of the nation of Colombia, South America. And they are accomplishing this without being swallowed up by the larger society. This is an attempt to record a case history of this group[1], their accomplishments, and how they are beginning to affect other indigenous groups in Colombia.

This is not the only case of a visionary indigenous leader in Colombia, but it is probably the most significant case in the more isolated states east of the Eastern Andes. This is the area where the indigenous people have had little contact with modern "civilization" until rather recently. It may also be true that this case has had more influence among other indigenous groups throughout Colombia because of the traveling, teaching, and writing done by its leader. It should be noted that the case to be recorded here was to a certain extent contemporary with the beginning of the formation of regional indigenous political organizations in Colombia, but it had a good start before these organizations were known in that particular area, and it was not related to these.

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[1] This article was originally written in 1989. Minor revisions have been made, but overall, the information contained was current and complete at that time. Insufficient information was available to thoroughly update this text at this time.

Background information

The Guahibo people live in the eastern plains of Colombia and also extend into Venezuela. They are basically hunters, fishers, and gatherers with non-intensive agriculture. Their staple crop is bitter manioc from which they make a large flat bread called *casabe*. They also plant some bananas, plantains, and a very small amount of sugar cane, sweet potatoes, pineapples, and sweet manioc. They make their fields by the slash and burn method. In most areas, they never do any weeding, but rather they let the manioc grow along with the weeds. A few individuals have raised a small number of cattle in the natural grasslands. Most families have a few chickens. Periodically during the last thirty years, some individuals have raised a hectare or two of dry-land rice or corn as a cash crop. Most of them, however, live so far from the market that what little cash they get for their small crop is hardly worth the effort.

The speakers of the Guahibo language live scattered over a very large area. In Colombia, they live in five states (Meta, Vichada, Casanare, Guaviare, and Guainía) with the majority living in the state (*Comisaría*) of Vichada. Although the Guahibo culture is basically the same throughout that area, the amount of acculturation to the national culture in recent years varies from area to area depending on the proximity to concentrations of Spanish speaking Colombians. This case history will concentrate on a small group about which more exact details can be given.

In 1975, a land reserve of 36,000 hectares was formed for the Guahibos living in six villages in the area of Cavasi Creek, the first such reserve to be constituted in the state of Vichada. The Guahibos living in the village of Corocito had initiated the procedures for the reserve several years earlier to protect their land from invading "white" colonists. At the time, the Guahibos had no system of government except by consensus of the whole village. A captain (*capitán*) who could speak Spanish was often chosen by the village to speak for them in dealings with outsiders. No other system of government was set up at the time of the formation of the reserve.

Catholic mission stations began to be built in the area somewhat earlier. Cavasi Creek is located between the Sunape Mission (founded in 1955) and the Santa Teresita del Tuparro Mission (founded in 1962), though it is not in close proximity to either one. A number of Guahibos sent their children to boarding schools at the missions. However, many of the Guahibos in the Cavasi Reserve did not favor the idea of sending their children away to boarding schools. Some taught their own children to read at home, and there were several short-term attempts at setting up their own school (at least in the village of Corocito). Many of the adults who never attended school were literate in their own language. This literacy was a result of literacy campaigns begun about 1960 and carried on by the Guahibo evangelical church. The literacy program contained syllable charts and Scripture portions provided by an intrepid American missionary to the Guahibo, Sophie Muller. About 1975, the government of the State of Vichada began to pay two Guahibos to teach in village schools in the Cavasi Reserve, one in Corocito and one in Putare.

Marcelino Sosa

In 1976, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) sponsored a short training course for Guahibo and Cuiba teachers at SIL's Bonaire Farm. SIL linguists had been studying the Guahibo language since 1963. They began in Barranco Colorado, Meta, and then they moved to Corocito, near Cavasi Creek, in 1968. One of the eight Guahibo teachers (some were only teacher candidates) who attended was the teacher at Putare, Marcelino Sosa. Sosa was a self-educated Guahibo from the Planas area. During this course, he expressed to the SIL linguists his desire to write articles or books that would be helpful to his people.

This idea lay dormant until 1978 and 1979 when, at the request of Sosa and other Guahibos in Corocito, one of the SIL teams with journalism training taught two six-week courses in journalism. Another linguist taught typing. This training then resulted in the founding of a small mimeographed newspaper in Guahibo and Spanish with Sosa as editor.

Guahibo newspaper

This newspaper, *La Voz de Cavasi*, although it was very popular and useful, struggled to stay alive over the years. The main problem was that the men who worked on the paper had a hard time volunteering enough time. They typed the stencils and printed 220 copies of the twelve-page paper on a simple silk-screen press. Normally these men would hunt or fish almost every day to feed their families. Publishing the newspaper and preparing it for distribution to the captains and teachers in Guahibo villages took them almost two weeks. Also, most of the men had never been to school and were used to hard physical labor. They found the newspaper work tedious. They did, however, continue to print the paper, though not necessarily every two months as they had originally planned. (Later, disruption caused by guerrilla activity in the area caused the editions to be even farther apart. This was especially true when Sosa found it impossible, for personal security, to live in his home village.) Alberta Agency for International Development (Alberta AID) has helped with small grants to the newspaper to help make a more secure office with zinc roof and to supply paper and stencils.

Sosa concentrated on trying new things (i.e., new to the Guahibos) in the Cavasi Reserve first. He then passed on successful ideas to the Guahibos in other areas by means of the newspaper. The newspaper taught the people the functions of different government agencies. It also provided a way for Guahibos from different areas to share ideas or express complaints in letters to the editor. When appropriate, these complaints were written in Spanish. The Spanish sections of the newspaper were directed at a broader audience; they were different articles, not translations of the Guahibo articles. The newspaper was sent to government offices, as well as to Guahibo leaders, and there is evidence that it was well read. In one case, a complaint voiced in one the editorials against a government officer caused him to lose his job.

It can be added here that during the first journalism course in 1978, the Colombian government administrator for the region (*corregidor*) requested that the Cavasi and Saracure Reserves each select a captain of the captains, so that he would not have to deal with each village leader individually. Sosa was chosen the first *capitán de capitanes* of the Cavasi Reserve.

Bilingual education committee

Following the two journalism courses and at the request of the Guahibos, a six-week course in composition was taught by the SIL linguist in Corocito in 1981. The purpose of the composition course was to produce material for Guahibo school textbooks. The participants wrote 230 stories in their own language based on their own culture. These stories were for both children and young people. During the same course, the twelve Guahibo participants (several of whom were teachers) discussed bilingual education and the formation of a Guahibo committee for bilingual education. The participants were led by Sosa.

The Guahibos during this course struggled with the idea of what an "organization" is. The idea was still very foreign to them and hard to understand. This was in spite of the fact that Sosa had written *estatutos*, like bylaws, for the newspaper in 1978. Then, in 1979, he and others had begun to write *estatutos* for the Cavasi Reserve. Sosa had also tried to found an organization in Cavasi as the possible basis of a cooperative, similar to one he had belonged to in Planas.

The following year, 1982, Sosa and five others formed a bilingual education committee. Much later they learned that because they did not call together all the Guahibos for a consensus in the formation of their committee, people were suspicious of them. The committee was suspected of obtaining money from the government and not sharing it with everyone.

Guahibos always divide up and share the meat they obtain from hunting and fishing as well as other foods. Traditionally they have not understood why, when a grant of money is given to the Guahibos as a group, it is not divided up so each one gets his share. The idea that the school belongs to the group, the reserve belongs to the group, or a development project belongs to the group is very new to them. They did not have group-owned nor group-governed property, even though they recognized unimproved land, savannahs, and lakes as public domain (never privately owned). So they thought of the school as belonging to the teacher, and thought he should build it and repair it by himself. And they had no experience of a small group working "secretly" in benefit of the larger group nor any other kind of representative government. It may have even seemed subversive.

Biography of Sosa

Perhaps it would be appropriate at this point to inject a short biography of Marcelino Sosa, since he was the person with the vision and the experience who initiated most of the innovations in Cavasi.

Marcelino Sosa was born in 1938 near Puerto Gaitán, Meta on the Manacacías River in a village called Murure. This village is now the site of a cattle ranch with the same name. He was the third child of six with the same mother. His mother was Guahibo. His father, of whose three sons Marcelino was the middle one, was half Guahibo and half Baré (another indigenous group). His father learned the trade of carpentry from his Baré father. Although Marcelino lived with his father, he did not take up the carpentry trade, as did, to a certain extent, his older brother. Nor did he attend school for a couple of years like his brother. At one point he was enrolled in school by his father, but apparently he was the only indigenous child in his class. The teacher and some of the students singled him out for ridicule. For this reason his father terminated his studies after the first week. The violence in Colombia followed soon after this, and the family was forced to flee to the area of the Planas River. The events of this time left a strong impression on the children.

From the age of twelve, Sosa began to work for periods on different cattle ranches. There he learned more about the culture of the Spanish speakers and improved his speaking ability of Spanish. He says that is when he began to investigate "the why of things," including the why of racial prejudice.

Sosa never did return to school. He learned to read by pestering his older brother to read to him until he caught on to the system and taught himself from a second grade reader. Later, while he was working on a ranch, the daughter of the owner taught him to write.

Sosa was always inquisitive. He comments that when one person got tired of answering his questions, he would pester someone else. When he had the opportunity, he especially enjoyed learning from professional people such as doctors and lawyers.

He reached maturity while he was living in Planas, which is on the western edge of the Guahibo area and closer to some Colombian towns. There he had the opportunity to participate in a number of different courses such as tractor driving (six months), the use of a microscope to identify tuberculosis (eight months plus a year of practice in the field), and the development of cooperatives (two months). When a cooperative was set up for the Guahibos in Planas, he served as the treasurer. His oldest brother, by another father, was an outstanding leader by this time and was the head of a cattle project started there. In 1970, before the cooperative could really prove itself, there were a number of incidents that resulted in another period of violence for the Guahibos and much suffering for the Sosa brothers and others. Many, including the Sosas, left the area never to return. Marcelino's oldest brother stayed on in Planas the longest. The three Sosa brothers, their mother who was still living, and the two younger siblings settled in the village of Putare, near Cavasi Creek, in 1973. Marcelino taught school there for two and a half years. As already mentioned, he founded the Guahibo newspaper in 1978. In the same year, he became the first *capitán de capitanes* of the Cavasi Reserve. He served for two years before stepping into second position (*coordinador*) in order to train a successor. In 1983, he served as the chief administrator (*corregidor*) of the largest county (*corregimiento*) in Vichada. Sosa resigned after one year due to the increase in guerrilla activity, and because, in that job, he served the non-indigenous population more than his own people.

Sosa was particularly interested in education as a hope for the future of the Guahibos. In 1983, he obtained the publication of a monograph he wrote in Spanish called, "The Guahibo Child and Bilingual Education." (The publication was financed as part of a grant to SIL from Alberta AID and the Canadian International Development Agency.) A film, "Between Two Worlds", based on this monograph was produced by SIL. Marcelino participated in the writing of the script and has since found the Spanish version a good teaching tool for use with Colombians, both indigenous and non-indigenous. Recently the Colombian Ministry of Government (DIGIDEC[2]) obtained thirty-eight Betamax copies for their Communal Action Committees (*Juntas de Acción Comunal*) throughout Colombia. It has been used in other countries as well. An Alberta AID grant helped fund an adaptation in the Spanish version of the film.

However, Marcelino could see that without an economic base, the Guahibos were handicapped in any type of development or progress they might plan. (In 1986, when some Guahibos got together with experts to look at economic possibilities, the estimated annual per capita income of one progressive village was calculated about $155.) Marcelino wrote another monograph in Spanish. This time he wrote about the Guahibo economic system. It was published in 1985 with the title, "The Value of the Person in the Guahibo Economy," and it is an invaluable aid to development workers in understanding why Guahibos have trouble understanding the western economic system. The writing was underwritten by Alberta AID and the publication was underwritten by World Vision International. (Marcelino's very first essay was written in 1979 for a contest sponsored by a department of the national Ministry of Government (DIGIDEC). The essay won first place in the essay category, but it was not published by the government until 1987. It is titled, "The Guahibo and the White Man: Cultures in Conflict." It was this essay that got him started writing in Spanish.)

A new form of government

The Cavasi Reserve, according to a new government policy for all (or most) reserves, became a *resquardo* (reservation) in 1983. The newest law concerning the government of *resguardos* dates back to 1890 and requires the establishment of a governing body called a *cabildo*. The wording of the law is antiquated and hard to understand. This caused great confusion among the Guahibos, and the captains felt their status as an authority was being removed and their traditional system undermined. They mistrusted those sent by the Catholic missions and by the National Indian Organization (ONIC[3]) to orient them to the new system and to get them to join their regional and national political organizations. Some, however, went along, as had some of the Guahibos in the state (*departamento*) of Meta some years previously. The Cavasi Reservation had *estatutos* written in Guahibo since 1979, and these *estatutos* were mimeographed in 1980. The Cavasi Reservation was the only Guahibo reserve or reservation to have them. Marcelino felt that what they needed was legal advice and orientation concerning the "new" (for them) law.

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[2] DIGIDEC stands for the *Dirección General de Integración y Desarrollo de la Comunidad*. See glossary in Appendix for definition.

Course for leaders

It was because of this need for advice that, in 1984, Marcelino approached SIL about providing the facilities and the transportation for thirty Guahibo leaders from fifteen villages to meet together. With help from an Alberta AID grant, they met at SIL's Bonaire Farm in November of that year. It was called the First Workshop on Bilingual Education and Indian Legislation, and it lasted two weeks. The first week they discussed their problems among themselves, and the second week they asked questions of lawyers and government officials that they had invited. At this workshop, those from the Cavasi Reservation decided to just adjust their *estatutos* a little to include a governing body (*cabildo*), which would be subject to, rather than rule over, their Council of Captains. Some other Guahibos, especially those in the Lower Vichada Reservation (the most populated of all Guahibo Reservations) felt less threatened by that system and followed their example.

During the "leaders' workshop," as it later came to be known, the Guahibos were divided into working groups. Among other results from these groups were the following: *(a)* a decision was made about Guahibo orthography, *(b)* the history working group began the compilation of the first history of the Guahibo people, written in Guahibo and later published in 1988, and *(c)* the culture working group made posters where all could add items of the Guahibo culture that they did not want to abandon during this period of cultural transition. These were later included in the appendix of a leaders' manual in Guahibo written by Sosa. The manual was prepared in answer to a request during the workshop that things they talked about be put down in writing and made available to the participants. The manual was published in 1987.

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[3] ONIC stands for *Organización Nacional Indigena de Colombia*. See glossary in Appendix for definition.

Leadership and elections

The Guahibos are gradually learning how a *cabildo* (governing body) can function, but most internal decisions are still made by consensus. Previously, if a captain was not popular, he was basically ignored and therefore lacked authority. The *cabildos* are treated in the same way. If a leader is popular, however, he tends to be overburdened by the jobs thrust on him, even the settling of individuals' personal matters. The Guahibos still relate best to people rather than organizations. They call the members of the *cabildo* by their titles (e.g., secretary or assessor). But they think of the *cabildo* as a person who is the president, or *capitán general*, as he is called in Cavasi.

An interesting anecdote took place in January 1989, almost six years after the Cavasi Reserve became a reservation. It involved the election of the new *cabildos*, which must, according to the 1890 law, take place annually. The Guahibos had never "elected" their captains, so elections were new for them. But an observer was quite impressed by the election held in the Cavasi Reservation. Each village put up a candidate for each office (their own idea), and they ended up electing to each office a person from a different village. The observer had previous experience with regional indigenous political organizations and had never seen Guahibos handle things so well, i.e., so independently. Even Sosa said nothing but observed from the sidelines. Sosa also witnessed the elections in the Lower Vichada Reservation, where they had had less experience than in Cavasi. In this case, the candidates were told to stand, and those who wanted to vote for them were told to hold their candidate's hand. When the lines of people holding hands were being counted to see which candidate had the most votes, Sosa commented to them that there was a child in the line. "Don't discourage him", they said. "He has chosen his candidate. We just won't count him."

School books and literacy

The next workshop was requested by the Guahibo Bilingual Education Committee during the leaders' workshop. They asked SIL to sponsor a workshop to produce a second-grade social studies book in Guahibo.

By this time there were twelve village schools in Vichada with Guahibo teachers supervised by the *Educación Contratada* (Catholic church contracted by the Colombian government) and perhaps an equal number with Guahibo teachers supervised by the Secretariat of Education of the State of Vichada. The first training course for Guahibo teachers was held at the Santa Teresita Mission in late 1976. This course developed into a series of courses offered twice a year at the mission, during school vacations, so that the teachers could obtain their normal school certificate in five years and keep teaching at the same time. Participation was open to both groups of teachers.

Bilingual education for Colombian indigenous people was mandated by a law enacted in 1978. However, the major concern of the Guahibo teachers in the Cavasi Reservation and other areas was the lack of materials in Guahibo for bilingual education. SIL had published a primer in 1971 (first edition) for teaching adult literacy and a series of thin post-primer booklets which were being used in some schools. A political group (*Unuma)* in the state of Meta, published a basic literacy primer in 1980. Another primer was produced at the Santa Teresita Mission in 1983. Also, Sosa collaborated with the Vichada state government in producing another primer for adults that was published in 1984. Material for reading books in Guahibo for grades two through six had been written during the course in Corocito in 1981; however, only the second grade book had been edited and trial copies photocopied. Nevertheless, at this time the teachers felt that the need for a social studies book was more urgent than for reading books.

A three-week workshop funded from an Alberta AID grant was held at SIL's Bonaire Farm in January 1985. Twelve Guahibos outlined and wrote a second grade social studies book in Guahibo using a method developed in Colombia for rural schools called *Escuela Nueva*. The book was based on their own culture, introducing in later chapters the concept of the nation. It was published in 1986. Also during this workshop, some other materials written earlier received more editing.

Cattle project

Around this time, concern for an economic base led Sosa to discuss a cattle project with SIL (particularly with Geert DeKoning of the Canadian Division). The Guahibos live in cattle country, and Marcelino felt they should take advantage of their "main resource" which is land. The project, which was developed and eventually funded by Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in 1984, was an attempt to combine the Guahibo cultural system of sharing with a smaller component of community ownership. This was a new concept to be taught. The latter would be used to build a base for funding community projects, especially in education. The lack of adult reading materials and materials for schools in Guahibo is a detriment to functional literacy and, as already mentioned, a great difficulty to the Guahibo bilingual school teachers. But the Guahibos recognize that they, as speakers of the language, are the only ones really prepared to produce these materials.

Also participating in the planning of the project was the head of the Ministry of Government Division of Indian Affairs' Vichada Commission, an anthropologist. His entity had recently sponsored a small cattle project in one area of Cavasi. The project was not planned with the Guahibo culture in mind and was not working well. In that project, all the animals were "group owned." Some of them were also very wild. Those that survived were eventually taken by individuals. This experience was taken into account in planning the larger project.

The cattle project was called "Project of Cattle Expansion by Families and Community Self Support". Individuals who received an animal were required to give the first offspring to a relative (all Guahibos are somehow related). The project could not ensure this with a piece of paper, but cultural pressure to share does help. The group of community animals was put under the care of the administrative committee (*junta*) of the project. The *junta* was made up of several Cavasi residents (all Guahibos).

As part of the project, in July 1985, twenty-three Guahibos from eleven Cavasi villages took a short course in cattle raising taught by the Colombian national vocational teaching service SENA[4] at SIL's Bonaire Farm. In addition, three young men recommended by the SENA instructor took a two-year agriculture and animal husbandry course-apprenticeship under SENA. The apprenticeship was done at SIL's Farm. When they were not busy, the fellows also worked at the SIL commissary. This turned out to be a profitable experience for one of them. Following their course, one of the three managed the herd of community cattle for which he was paid by the sale of offspring from that herd. Another of the three bought some cows of his own and, besides caring for them, voluntarily helps with a cocoa project in his village. (More about that project later.) The third spent the money he earned during his apprenticeship on provisions for starting a small store. All three help when technical knowledge is needed in the care of any of the cattle.

A store that works

An interesting sidelight here is that the store just mentioned is one of only a very few stores started by Guahibos that have survived over a period of time. The Guahibo system of sharing works against anyone starting a store. The owner can not deny his relatives goods when they ask for them, and soon he is out of goods. The above mentioned store has been functioning as follows. The owner gives people things when they ask (on credit). He writes down how much they owe. When too many people have not paid their bills, he lets the store run out of merchandise and closes it until the people pay their bills. Because the store is a convenience (the nearest store is at a ranch a whole day's walk away), the pressure of the group's displeasure at it being closed works to get the people to pay their bills. At least it seems to be working so far, more than a year after the store was started.

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[4] SENA stands for *Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje*. See glossary in Appendix for definition.

Cattle project: progress and difficulties

The progress of the cattle project was being observed by Guahibos from other reservations who began to write to those in the Cavasi Reservation asking how they might become a part of the project. They expressed that there are lots of other groups that talk and promise things, but nothing happens. They said that there were even cases where cattle were donated to the indigenous people through another organization, but the indigenous people were not entrusted with the care of the animals. Non-indigenous people took care of the cattle for them. The Guahibos in Cavasi wanted to help these other Guahibos. In Guahibo culture it is a moral obligation to help those who ask. For example, after the people in Cavasi were granted a reserve in 1975, Guahibos from other areas came to ask how they could get a reserve. The school teacher in Corocito helped more than one group take their census and write their petition to the government land reform agency, INCORA[5], requesting their reserve.

In the beginning it was thought that the cattle would multiply in Cavasi until every family would have a cow, and then cows could be given to other Guahibo families outside the Cavasi Reservation. This has not proven realistic, partly due to some mismanagement, but mostly because of the population growth within the reservation. In the original plans, one fact was overlooked. New families were constantly being formed by the young people growing up, and these families are also entitled to an animal.

A recognized difficulty that developed early in the management of the Cavasi cattle project was the problem of security. Because guerrillas became more active in the area, it was not possible to have the close supervision which would have been ideal. Neither Marcelino Sosa nor the SIL team have lived in Cavasi since about 1984. Sosa, perhaps because of his outstanding leadership ability, soon became a man hunted by the guerrillas. Twice he barely escaped with his life. For that reason, his unannounced visits to the project area were too brief for adequate supervision.

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[5] INCORA stands for *Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria*. See glossary in Appendix for definition.

When the first cattle were delivered, one captain issued an ultimatum to the guerrillas that these cows were for poor people, and the guerrillas should not help themselves as they do on other local cattle ranches. Up until this writing, they have left the Guahibos' cows alone.

The cows, a little over 200 animals in all, were purchased and delivered in two groups. They were distributed to certain individuals in all the villages in the reservation with the exception of those left for the community herd. The Guahibos could see that many people would have to wait to receive an animal even though more animals were given to individuals and less kept for the community herd than originally planned. The poorest animals went to the community herd, so no individual would receive a poor animal.

Even though the cattle project would be slow developing, and supervision was inadequate, the people were very happy with their project. They felt it was theirs. They were in charge. Sosa later commented that if the cattle project had been a financial failure, it would have been worth it for the management experience gained by the people and their new feeling of independence, responsibility for their own progress, and self-worth. This was a bonus he had not anticipated at the beginning of the project.

At one point a specialist from ICA (*Instituto Colombiano de Agropecuaria*) visited Cavasi to evaluate the project and made a detailed report. He felt the cattle were well cared for. Representatives from the Canadian Embassy visited the Bonaire Farm during the first SENA training course, and later they also visited Cavasi to make an evaluation of the project.

Other economic alternatives

Because of the experience gained from the cattle project, the Cavasi Guahibos had a better idea of how to approach finding solutions to community economic needs. Because they could see that the cattle project would develop slowly, they wanted to investigate additional possibilities for economic development. They said they did not want their young people getting into the *coca* (cocaine) business or joining the guerrillas. So, they approached SIL concerning finding other alternatives. At their request, in 1986, two courses funded with money from an Alberta AID grant were held at the SIL Bonaire Farm.

Seven key leaders and three other Guahibos from Cavasi attended the first seminar. Also included in the seminar were technical resource people invited from Colombian agencies involved in development and familiar with the Guahibo area (SENA, ICA, DIGIDEC, and *División de Asuntos Indígenas*[6]). A retired agricultural economics professor from Michigan State University and a couple of SIL members also participated. The seminar had two aspects: (1) an overview of the basic features of the western economic system (so different from the Guahibo system) and (2) an analysis of the Guahibo economic situation with an attempt to determine appropriate programs of economic development to meet local community needs. In determining the latter, serious consideration had to be given to the long distance from primary markets. During this seminar, links were established between the participating entities, and definite progress was made in writing up information basic to specific projects.

One of the conclusions of the seminar was the need to extend the economic orientation and planning process to a broader sector of the Guahibo world. As a result, the second, longer course was planned. Leaders from three reservations, including Cavasi (twenty participants), were invited. This included the people who had written earlier to the people in Cavasi asking how they might be included in the cattle project.

Between the two seminars, a preliminary draft of a large scale development project for Cavasi was drawn up. The draft was based on: *(a)* research carried out during the first seminar with the Guahibos and *(b)* further research done in Bogotá by the specialist from DIGIDEC and the professor of agricultural economics.

During the second seminar (also funded from the Alberta AID grant), there was more explanation of the fundamental concepts of the western economic system and living and working within it. The participants made posters so they could teach the principles when they returned to their villages, which they did. They also did further planning for the implementation of two specific programs of development. The programs were: (1) a cocoa (*cacao*) project for the Cavasi Reservation, in cooperation with DIGIDEC and FEDECACAO[7] and (2) a cattle project, similar to the Cavasi cattle project, for the other two reservations. The latter was funded by CIDA starting in 1988. Some funding to begin the cocoa project was obtained from the Dutch Embassy.

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[6] For more information on these agencies, see the glossary in the Appendix.

Cavasi as the hub

In that same year (1986) Marcelino Sosa wrote a brief description in Spanish of the organization of the Cavasi Reservation as he saw it and how development had reached out from it to Guahibos in other areas. The following section cinsissts of excerpts from Sosa's description.

The Cavasi Creek Indigenous Reservation

> The reservation ... is located at the geographic center of the Guahibo region and also within the area with the most concentrated Guahibo population, which extends from *San José de Ocuné* to the Orinoco River on the south side of the Vichada River ....
>
> The residents in this reservation have been in the process of creating their own philosophy of development that tends to project itself to other Guahibo communities and even to other indigenous groups with whom they have had contact. The experience of working independently of outside ("foreign") policies has resulted in the development ("birth") of an ideological base in these moments of cultural and evolutional crisis for the Guahibos ... that is founded on indigenous values and the desire of the Guahibos to progress and (at the same time) be able to defend and maintain their self-determination in the modern world, which is becoming progressively more complex and small.

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[7] FEDECACAO stands for *Federación de Cacaoteros* (Federation of Cocoa Growers).

This development ("formation"), born out of the community itself, has caused Cavasi to become the hub, or central and principal sphere, for the whole Guahibo population in the defense of the Guahibo culture and in development adapted to indigenous norms. The projects conceptualized in Cavasi are first tested in the same reservation and then projected beyond the reservation when solicited by other Guahibos.

On occasion, other reservations are invited by means of meetings, short courses, workshops, etc. to participate in the experience being obtained in Cavasi through the different activities carried out there.

Publications are prepared that serve for all the Guahibos. These are done with the participation of those who want to write for the people, whether in the area of education, civics, culture, religion, history, etc. In Cavasi they are accustomed to making democratic decisions, that is, the greater authority is vested in the people themselves.

Committees are created in Cavasi, with regional subcommittees (in other areas) which tends toward cooperation and integration, within Guahibo norms.

In Cavasi an example continues to be created of what other Guahibo communities can obtain on their own initiative, utilizing their own natural and human resources, and within the values of their own culture, seeking, when necessary, technical help and funding from government and private agencies, but with the projects under the control of the indigenous community. At this time, the Cavasi Reservation is serving as an example in the following:

1. Its political structure with the *Cabildo Mayor* and the captains of each village, and the committees and administrative bodies of projects and its *estatutos* created and published in Guahibo for the community to be able to regulate itself by means of them.

2. Its projects for economic development (for example the Project of Cattle Expansion by Families and Community Self Support, and the proposed agricultural project)
3. Its Bilingual Education Committee and the textbooks published by it
4. Its *Baupa* (Door) Committee and the books published by it [see: Training editors section]
5. Its newspaper, *The Voice of Cavasi*, a medium of information, and of support for the Guahibo culture.
6. Its bilingual schools in its own villages
7. The work, coordinated with the community, of the indigenous health promoters, sponsored by the Health Service (*Servisalud*) of Vichada
8. The way that they (people of Cavasi) continue to gain experiences by planned contact with the outside world, in order not to lose their identity
9. The sending of young people to study within the culture of the "whites[8]", supervised by the community, in order that they will not be absorbed by the "white" culture

Large area meetings

Also during 1986, a series of large meetings took place involving the Guahibos of three reservations: Cavasi, Cuna, and Lower Vichada (Aiwa-Atana). Each meeting lasted several days and was hosted by a selected village. The first meeting was held in January in Santa Marta (Cavasi) and lasted six days, the second in March in Tseca (Lower Vichada), the third in August in Quilai (Cuna), and the fourth in Cocotobá (Lower Vichada) in February 1987. During these meetings the Guahibos from these three reservations shared ideas, discussed common problems, and agreed to stick together as Guahibos and give each other mutual support. According to Sosa, they agreed that they are the "owners" of their problems and the ones who should resolve them. He believes these meetings helped the larger group of Guahibos involved participate more in seeking solutions to their own problems. They began to speak up and not just listen passively. The solidarity gave them more boldness and optimism. The meetings were conducted in Guahibo. Non-Guahibo visitors (there were a few) had to use interpreters to understand the proceedings.

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[8] In this context, the use of the term "white(s)" refers to Spanish-speaking Colombians.

Learning from mistakes

The new cattle project for the Cuna and Lower Vichada reservations is benefiting from the experience of the Cavasi cattle project. Due to insecurity (guerrilla presence) in the area, as has already been mentioned, the Cavasi cattle project did not have the close supervision that would have been ideal. In Cavasi they have learned by their mistakes as well as their successes, and now this experience is available to others.

Sosa feels that one of the biggest mistakes was to take a group out of the area to prepare them for the project rather than to prepare them in their area where all the populace would get in on the orientation. The main reason for doing it, of course, was security.

It has already been mentioned that the Guahibos had never had commonly owned anything and still have trouble with this concept. The cows were supposed to belong to the project until the first offspring was returned to the project, and then the cow became the property of the person who had been caring for it. Since a project is not a person, but rather some abstract, little-understood principle, many thought the animal they received was their own. Because of this, there were some losses. For example, for security reasons, a man decided to move away. Before moving, he butchered "his" cow. The people who had not yet received an animal realized that this type of behavior would cause them to lose out, so there was some social pressure to take good care of animals. However, as individuals, they did not have any authority to enforce correct handling.

The administrative committee that was supposed to be in control of the project, and of the assignment of the offspring to new families, did not function well. Perhaps because the Guahibos had never had this type of an organization (or any other type), the committee lacked authority. When it came time to divide up the offspring for the first time, those who shouted the loudest or were closely related to someone came out the best. When it was all over, it was discovered that some animals had been given to young people who were not yet married. Whereas, some men with several children did not receive an animal. Later some of these young people proved irresponsible and sold "their" cow before it reproduced. (However none of the young women did this.)

When it was clear that the administrative committee did not function well, the project was turned over to the *cabildo*. This did not solve all the problems. The members of the *cabildo* did not understand the idea of communal ownership or communal (or representative) supervision much better than the rest of the community. They tended to consider the communal animals their private property as members of the *cabildo* or as payment for their services. They sold calves to pay for emergency medical needs and donated three to feed people during a Bible conference.

In at least one village, Puerto Paloma, everyone took good care of his or her animal and handed over the offspring. However, when the *cabildo* sold one of the offspring they handed over instead of giving it to a new family, they were very concerned. They were afraid they would be responsible to provide another offspring. Apparently the conscientiousness of this group was related to the fact that they are in-laws of Sosa. They visualized the project as "his" project, so that they were responsible to a person and not to an unknown, impersonal, abstract principle.

In Cavasi the distribution of offspring to new owners has been "frozen" until a thorough investigation and assessment has been made. Sosa has started the evaluation, going from house to house, to talk to each family about their problems in relationship to the project. He does not accuse but gently probes for cultural problems and misunderstandings. He gave the following cases as examples of things that have happened.

Case 1

A cow belonging to the communal herd got into the planted field of a man three times and did quite a bit of damage. After the first incident, he made a claim for damages to the president (*Capitán General*) of the *cabildo*, but he got no results. When he saw the irresponsibility of the *cabildo* in selling the group cattle and that there was no response to his claim when the animal kept getting into his planted field, he killed the animal and distributed the meat so everyone could eat. When Sosa gently inquired which he had considered of greater value, his field or the cow, he said his hard work to prepare his field was more valuable to him than the cow. Then Sosa pointed out that a better solution would have been to tie up the cow and claim it. He could then sell his crop to pay for it. Now, he would have to sell his crop to pay for the cow and would be left with nothing, since the cow was eaten.

Case 2

Another young man sold "his" cow as well as the one assigned to his father (behind his father's back). He agreed to pay Sosa within a short time. Sosa replied that he would rather give the young man a longer time to pay, rather than an unrealistic time, since he wanted him to comply with his responsibility to the community. He replied, "I will comply with my responsibility to 'you.'"

Sosa says the people do not grasp the meaning of the word "community." Just a few young people are beginning to understand and reply, "We are the community." On the other hand some young people have (deliberately?) caused problems for the leaders by telling others, who do not understand, that the community is this or that (something that is not true).

In addition to misunderstandings concerning the cattle project, the formation of various different organizations in Cavasi has caused a great deal of confusion concerning who has authority to do what. The people (as of early 1989, after having complained and accused until some of their leaders have resigned) are beginning to realize that something is wrong, not with the leaders, but with the system or their ignorance of how it works. Sosa considers this new awareness healthy. This will be discussed in more detail later.

Supervising the second cattle project and cacao project

Because of this experience, Sosa was determined (in spite of certain risk to his person) to do the orientation for the second cattle project in the area, so everyone could participate. This way, not just the leaders receive the orientation but the whole community. The first orientation and decision-making workshop was held for one week in June 1988 at the SIL Farm with nine Guahibos from the Lower Vichada Reservation. Following that, all other orientation has been done in the project area. Different towns have hosted large meetings and short courses with Sosa as the principal teacher. He discusses economic principles, project administration, and how organizations work (not only their internal organizations but also organizations outside of their culture with which they will have to deal). They do not understand the structure and functions of the Colombian government, for example. The manual Sosa wrote in Guahibo for Guahibo leaders came off the press in 1988, and he uses it as a text for part of his teaching. This book (sixty-three pages) meets a felt need of Guahibo leaders trying to adjust to rapid change and to understand the non-indigenous culture. It is very popular. Guahibo leaders in Venezuela have also asked for copies. The Guahibo history book is also very popular and somewhat of a stabilizing factor at this time of change and adjustment. Young people, as well as older people, are very interested in it.

At this writing (March 1989), the corrals have been made, and Sosa is in the process of purchasing the cattle for the second cattle project. The people had expressed to him that they were not in a rush to receive the animals; they wanted the orientation first. Sosa plans to check on this project once a month to make sure it continues to function well. He also contacted the INCORA office in Villavicencio to ask for technical assistance for the project. INCORA has some projects among Guahibos but recently had to withdraw two of their technicians from projects because of cultural conflicts. The INCORA official admitted that lack of understanding of the Guahibo culture hinders their projects. Marcelino offered to give them cultural assistance in exchange for technical assistance, and the director was very willing to work on that basis. He has already read Sosa's book, "The Value of the Person in the Guahibo Economy," and says it is very valuable.

The *cacao* (cocoa) project for the Cavasi Reservation began to function in February 1988. It began with a one-week course in *cacao* raising taught at the SIL Bonaire Farm by instructors from

FEDECACAO and ICA. About twenty Guahibo participated. Following that, some hybrid seed was sent out to Cavasi and *semilleros* (planters for seedlings) were started. A representative of FEDECACAO visits Cavasi periodically to check on the plants and advise the growers. Some plants are doing better than others.

Training editors

Meanwhile, Sosa has not abandoned his vision for education. He as especially concerned that Guahibos learn not only to write but also to edit educational materials in Guahibo, so that when the SIL linguists should leave, there would be editors. (It would be very difficult for Spanish-speaking editors to edit in Guahibo as they would first have to learn the language and that would take a great deal of time.) Finally, in 1986, three candidates from the Cavasi Reservation participated in a fifteen-month editing internship with SIL linguists.

When they finished, the Lower Vichada Reservation asked to send two candidates. They will complete their internship in 1989. All of the young people are from different towns and will be able to teach writers' courses and print small editions of books for school and community libraries in their areas, though they have not yet been set up with the equipment (such as a typewriter and silk-screen press). With the help of these editors-in-training, the Guahibo Bilingual Education Committee has been able to edit and publish a series of small nature books (including suggested research activities on lizards, grasshoppers, caterpillars, ants, and parrots for school libraries with other topics in preparation). They have also published the first history of the Guahibo people, a very popular 147 page book. The students also helped edit and illustrate Sosa's leaders' manual and several books for the Guahibo Christian publishing committee (*Comité Baupa*). Basic readers they edited for second and third grade went to press in late 1988, and those for a fourth and fifth should be finished in 1989.

All this is part of a long-term Guahibo project for producing bilingual school materials outlined in Sosa's monograph, "The Guahibo Child and Bilingual Education." Grants to SIL from Alberta AID paid the expenses of the first three editing apprentices for six months and helped publish several of the books. Funded in the same way were two three-week editors' courses in which eighteen Guahibos participated along with people from other language groups.

Later Sosa was able to obtain scholarships for two of the first three editing students to continue their formal education, starting with sixth grade. (In Colombia secondary school starts with sixth grade.) He is constantly on the lookout for educational opportunities for Guahibo young people.

The foundation FRESCI

Another vision that Sosa had was the organization of a foundation made up of indigenous people and Colombian professionals. He observed the frustration of the Guahibo leaders who were sent by their communities to the national government offices in Bogotá to present a pressing need. Sometimes they did not make it as far as Bogotá. If they did, their resources were so limited they were not able to get the needed appointment before they had to leave. Or, if they got the appointment, there was no way they could follow it up. Sosa saw the need to have Colombian professionals making contacts for the indigenous people or following up for them. It took at least two years for the right group to come together in 1986 and for the Foundation FRESCI, *Fundación para el Respeto y Solidaridad con las Comunidades Indígenas*, to be formed. FRESCI obtained its legal papers (*personería jurídica*) in 1987. Among the most active professionals are a Spanish professor at the National Pedagogical University, an anthropologist-lawyer formerly with the Division of Indian Affairs, a psychopedagogist, and a graduate in educational administration. Indian leaders from several indigenous groups are also members. FRESCI has participated in a number of small projects for different Indian groups and taught in a number of training courses. They designed a program for the training and "professionalization" of bilingual school teachers. They also collaborated with government educational authorities in two Guahibo areas (Meta and Vichada) to organize a series of three courses, the first of which took place in 1987. An Alberta AID grant helped a few indigenous people who are not from Meta or Vichada to attend. Some of the teaching was done by Guahibos. The course was very enthusiastically received by the participating bilingual teachers, who included a few Piaroas, Puinaves, Cunas, and one Retuama as well as twenty-eight Guahibos.

One of the classes was a discussion class led by Sosa for indigenous participants only. In it the bilingual teachers shared their problems and talked about solutions. All participants also worked on educational materials in their languages. The Guahibos wrote stories for a second grade reader and composed educational songs in Guahibo. The difference between this course and previous courses, according to one bilingual teacher, was that this was their own course. They felt they were in charge.

FRESCI also signed an agreement in March 1987 with educational authorities in Vichada concerning cooperation in the production of textbooks for first through fourth grades. A Guahibo woman working in the government office of the *Centro Experimental Piloto* (CEP) has been working on first grade materials, and the Guahibo Bilingual Education Committee has been working on other materials. As part of the agreement, one of the Guahibo editors-in-training was loaned to CEP for two months to help edit materials.

In August 1988, FRESCI held a training course in administration and indigenous legislation in the Lower Vichada Reservation in connection with the second cattle project. This course included sixty-five Guahibo leaders and over 100 other observers. FRESCI is in the process of writing and editing four booklets on indigenous legislation for use in indigenous communities. They are also in the process of producing a book of activities for kindergarten and older children which is adapted for indigenous communities.

FRESCI's main problem has been the lack of a financial base. They have collaborated with SIL on projects but need to be involved in several large projects of their own in order to have support for several of their most active workers. They have also lacked an office out of which to operate but recently set one up, on a shoestring, in Bogotá. SIL has hired two different members of FRESCI on a one-year contract basis. The two were hired in order to provide some stability to their activities and some training and practical experience in working with indigenous people. This was done with the idea that this was temporary, and they would want to be more independent in the future.

Leadership crisis

Sosa believes that the present crisis in the leadership of Cavasi stems from the fact that the leaders, and especially the people, are confused about what the leaders are really supposed to do. Traditionally, their "leader figure" was the head of the household i.e., the father. He provided for the others (especially through hunting and fishing, and now also by shopping for clothes and sundries). Perhaps this is the reason the Guahibo people tend to expect (some more vocally than others) the leaders' main job to be that of getting them things, especially now that they have seen that the government or an outside agency does provide "things."

Since things are being given away, they want to get their share, just as they go to get their share when the hunter is dividing up the meat. The problem is they are not sure just what the leaders can get for them. They knew exactly what their fathers could provide and did not expect more, but they do not know the limitations of what the leaders can get. They are not aware that the other culture where these helps come from is different from their own and that grants are not just for dividing up among everyone, but rather they are for groups and come with many conditions and accountability. They are not aware that it is very difficult to get appointments with government officials, and these are very brief. They do not understand that not everyone can talk to the president of the nation.

Because of this ignorance, it is getting so everyone wants the leader, such as the president of the *cabildo* (*Capitán General*) or Sosa himself, to visit them or stay at their house. That is, they want the leader to visit or stay at each house, not just at certain houses, so they can then expect reciprocation. The reciprocation that they expect is that the leader will get them material goods, a scholarship, or a "project." This puts a great burden on the leaders, but they can not delegate anyone to go in their place. The people simply say, "No, I'll wait until he comes himself." They do not respect (or trust?) the authority of a delegate. This concept is still foreign to them. As Sosa says, the father of the family never had a delegated representative.

Either because of this pressure to get things or because the leader does not understand his job either, letters from leaders to

Sosa, to the SIL team, and to members of FRESCI (and at times to government offices) are getting to be more and more full of requests for such things as courses, scholarships, projects, items, and money. It is beginning to give the impression that the possessor of an official stamp (seal) of any kind (and everyone with any kind of title now wants one) is an official "requester of things" (as well as a person to get things to happen).

In addition to this confusion about the duties of the leaders, there is the general confusion about which "organization" or individual has the most authority in given situations. In the Cavasi Reservation, at last count, the organizations (or titles) were: (1) the *cabildo* and its officers, (2) the council of captains, (3) the individual *capitáns* of each village (and sometimes their secretaries), (4) the leaders (*ancianos*) of the church congregations in each village, (5) the bilingual education committee, (6) the staff of the Guahibo newspaper, (7) the officers of the Christian publishing committee (*Comité Baupa*), (8) the officers of the Christian youth group (*Campaña Juvenil*), (9) the now dissolved *junta* of the cattle project, (10) the school teachers, and (11) the health promoters. When some of these have received official seals, they have tended to think it gives them more authority. But the question is: authority over whom or over what? Conflicts have arisen which have caused hard feelings as well as confusion.

Because of this confusion of authority and the pressure on leaders to come up with things for everyone, there has been a great deal of criticism of the leaders, gossip, complaining, and accusing. The *Capitán General* of the *cabildo* of the Cavasi Reservation finally could not handle it anymore and resigned. No one wanted to take his place. They tried to elect one of the main complainers, a young school teacher. He promised to run, but at the last minute he backed out. The people were angry with him and said so. This brought the leadership problem to a head. The people began to see that their petty complaining was eliminating their leaders, but they did not know how to correct the problem. When they finally elected the captain from Retiro as president of the *cabildo*, the vice president, a leader in the youth group, did not want to give him the official seal. At this point Sosa intervened with the *estatutos*. Although the *estatutos* had been studied and revised by the leaders several times since 1979, they were not being used, in the sense of consulting them for guidance. The general populace was not aware of their content, and almost no one had yet understood their purpose. Sosa pointed out the duties of the president and vice president, as spelled out in the *estatutos*, made it obvious that the president must have the seal.

Sosa says that before any more organizing is done in Cavasi, such as a planned association of churches, the people need organizational courses in their own area (so all can attend). These courses would concern such issues as: what is a committee, what is a *cabildo*, what are the duties of different offices, and what are the areas of authority of different organizations (including the church). He believes everyone needs to be acquainted with and use the *estatutos*. That way the people would know what their leaders are supposed to do, and the leaders know what things are and are not their responsibility. He says another problem is that although they have grasped how to make their elections very democratic, they have not understood that they need to consider the qualities of the candidates.

These organizational and management problems are not unique to the Guahibos, of course, but are common to all of us as our societies become more complexly organized. We all need our job descriptions. The difference is that the Guahibos are having to learn much faster than we are (too much at once, perhaps?). As the different development projects are carried out, they are learning how to work together, and leadership is being developed.

In March of 1989, a Colombian sociologist unexpectedly visited the Cavasi Reservation and, with Sosa, visited all but two of the Guahibo villages. He was very favorably impressed. Having just come from another Guahibo area where some small projects are in process, he made some comparisons. He complimented SIL for "leaving the Guahibos independent." In Cavasi he has observed a Guahibo filling teeth, others cleaning a well, and the leaders running their own cattle project. He said that what he had observed at the other location was everything being run for the Guahibos by non-Guahibos, though sometimes through Guahibo figureheads. He said that the Guahibos in Cavasi are the most prepared of any he has seen to receive and carry out projects (in spite of the leadership crisis).

Sharing the experience

Marcelino Sosa has been invited to speak to other indigenous groups besides Guahibos. When SIL organized a series of three courses to prepare editors in sixteen languages, Marcelino led a discussion class each day about bilingual education, the production of textbooks, and the formation of an editorial committee. In the last two courses, he shared the class with two other Indian leaders. (In the final course, three other Guahibos and individuals from four other indigenous groups also helped teach classes.) Sosa has visited the Páez indigenous group in Cauca, as well as the Guajiros and the Catios in Northern Colombia. At the SIL Center in Lomalinda[9], where he now lives most of the year with his family because of security problems in the Guahibo area, he has been invited to speak to many indigenous groups. His many opportunities to speak, both to indigenous people and to non-indigenous people in different cities, are more than time and strength will allow. These opportunities, along with other projects, have kept him from finishing the editing of the manuscript of a book in Spanish. The book is for bilingual teachers. It shows them how to relate to their communities and cooperate with traditional community leaders.

The Guahibo experience in Cavasi is reaching even beyond the limits of the Guahibo indigenous group by means of a small newspaper, Sosa's books, the movie, *Between Two Worlds*, the FRESCI Foundation, and Marcelino's speaking and teaching. His philosophy of trying things first, and then sharing them, gives real authority to his teaching. He wants the indigenous groups to "learn to produce their own things (e.g., income, education, and books) in order to avoid so much dependence on outside people and systems that are not their own."

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[9] Editor's note: Since the writing of this article, the SIL center in Lomalinda has closed.

Appendix

Glossary of entities

CEP (*Centro Experimental Piloto*) is an agency of the Ministry of Education that is in charge of teacher training and curriculum planning at the local level.

DIGIDEC (*Dirección General de Integración y Desarrollo de la Comunidad*) is a section of the Ministry of Government over such areas as community development and indigenous affairs.

División de Asuntos Indígenas is the Division of Indigenous Affairs which is under the Ministry of Government and DIGIDEC.

FEDECACAO (*Federación de Cacaoteros*) is the Federation of Cocoa Growers.

FRESCI (*Fundación para el Respeto y Solidaridad con las Comunidades Indígenas*) was founded by Marcelino Sosa, Colombian professionals, and other indigenous people to help with development projects and other needs of the indigenous people.

ICA (*Instituto Colombiano de Agropecuaria*) is an agency of the Ministry of Agriculture concerned with agricultural research and development.

INCORA (*Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria*) is an agency of the Ministry of Agriculture that deals with land reform, land titles, and land development projects.

ONIC (*Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia*) is a national indigenous political organization that has affiliated regional organizations.

SENA (*Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje*) is an agency of the Ministry of Education which provides short-term technical training and apprenticeships.

When C, Q, R, X, and Z Are Vowels: An Informal Report on Natqgu Orthography

Brenda H. Boerger

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Background

In the Solomons, English is the national language and Solomon Islands Pijin is the commonly used language of wider communication. Most of the variously estimated fifty to ninety vernaculars in the country are part of the Austronesian language family, having only five vowels, no tone, and relatively simple syntax. Natqgu is spoken by about 5,000 people on Santa Cruz island in the far eastern Solomons. It is an agglutinating Papuan language with eighteen phonemic vowels and having a basic syllable structure inventory of V, CV, and CCV syllables. It is accurately reputed to be the most complex language in the Solomons, phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically. Many Austronesian language speakers who marry into the Natqgu language group eventually learn to understand it, but few ever manage to produce it, despite the fact that most Solomon Islanders are multilingual.

Chart 1. Changed Natqgu Vowels

Old Orthography	Phonetic Representation	New Orthography
ë	[ə]	z
ä	[æ]	x
ü	[[1]]	q
ö	[[2]]	r
o	[ɔ]	c

Natqgu has the five vowels (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*) in common with Pijin and the Austronesian languages of the Solomons plus five other oral vowels. In addition, eight of the ten oral vowels occur with phonemic nasalization. But only four of the phonemically nasal vowels occur with any frequency, and overall their functional load is quite low. In fact, the translation advisors who preceded us had decided not to mark nasalization at all, since the speakers themselves would never fail to pronounce the correct vowel, whether it was marked or not. We decided to mark it for political reasons. (An influential local church and government leader wanted it marked.) It was previously indicated with a tilde (˜) over the vowel. But imagine for a minute the confusion of a underlined *o* on one line with a nasalized umlauted *e* lined up just under it on the next line. It was visual confusion. In handwritten and even typed material it was often difficult to differentiate an umlaut from a tilde. So now we indicate nasalization with a straight apostrophe following the vowel (*a'*).

For years, Santa Cruz people have told other Solomon Islanders "Our language cannot be written." And when literate "five-vowel people" tried to do it, they said, "You're right. It can't." (That is it can not be written with the traditional five vowels of the English alphabet). But even among people who knew the additional vowel symbols enabled by diacritics, it seems that there was confusion about the vowels. For some, the fact that a diacritic changed a vowel into a completely different vowel, not even similar in sound to the one without the diacritic, was incomprehensible. And since vowels with diacritics occur more frequently than those without, a page of text was covered with dots and was too busy visually, if not confusing. We also found that mimeographing or photocopying texts with less than perfect reproduction (the norm) resulted in hard to read text, because some of the critically important diacritics were faint or missing in places. It would be like trying to read a tone language without tone marks on random words.

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[1] The vowel represented by *ü* in the old orthography and *q* in the new orthography is described phonetically as a high central rounded vowel, like a rounded barred *i* in SIL phonetic description. Originally it was written as an umlauted *u*, but it is not a front vowel as it is in German. The rounding is also not very strong.

[2] The vowel represented by *ö* in the old orthography and *r* in the new orthography is described phonetically as a mid-central rounded vowel, like a rounded schwa. It has an "r-like" quality.

Another drawback to the old orthography was that it could not be easily typed on commonly available English typewriters, nor could it be typeset in the country. When typewriter quote marks were used to produce the umlauts on four of the vowels, it necessitated typing the vowel, backspacing, shifting and typing a quote mark. That meant a lot of work to produce a majority of the vowels. Besides, the result was unappealing, because the quote marks penetrated into the vowels. Since it was difficult for Natqgu speakers to publish anything without a computer and printer to produce camera-ready copy, there was little incentive to produce written materials locally. And as far as we know, no materials have been produced by anyone outside of the translation project since the orthography was first introduced more than twenty years ago.

For the above reasons, we had thought for some time that it would be in the best interest of the people to get rid of diacritics in the orthography. Our primary motivation was to make local publication easier using locally available typewriters and printing businesses. But due to a number of factors, a proposal to this effect was voted down by the Natqgu Translation Committee in 1989 with a bare majority voting to keep the old one.

The New Letters

During a visit in 1994, after hearing the history of the project and our concerns about the orthography, our SIL director encouraged us to investigate at least one more time the possibility of changing the orthography. It turned out the climate was right, and a survey of the local church and government leaders revealed their openness to a change. On that basis we made a presentation to a small committee of Santa Cruz leaders (the only ones who had enough interest in the issue to show up) of various options to do away with the diacritics. Due to the frequency of vowels with diacritics, they were unwilling to use a vowel plus consonant digraph option, (e.g. 'uh' instead of ë for schwa), since it would make the words significantly longer and harder to read. (They are long enough as it is!) After discussion and looking at a texts printed using the various digraph and non-digraph options, the current orthography was adopted by the committee in May 1994.

A couple of sociolinguistic factors played a crucial part in the acceptance of the new orthography. First, the old orthography had been in existence for nearly twenty years, but it was of little indigenous use for any purpose outside the translation project. Most of those who had once learned the old orthography were men now over forty-five years old, and only one or two of them ever used it. Clearly, there was little local identification with the old orthography. Secondly, there is a willingness that borders on apathy to let others make decisions for them in such esoteric an area as a written vernacular. No one here had strong feelings about the orthography, even though elsewhere in the country orthographies have been hotly disputed with splits generally occurring along denominational lines.

The response to the new orthography has been uniformly positive. Two workshops were held within a month of each other to teach people who had already learned to read English to make the transition to Natqgu. Due to precipitous timing of the decision to change the orthography, the first workshop was taught with the old orthography, and the second was just after the change. Otherwise the materials and content were identical. It was our impression that the people in the second one were able to learn the new orthography more quickly and were more fluent at the end of the one week course than those in the first course. We considered that significant since the demographics of the two groups were essentially the same. Since then, three additional workshops have been held for the same purpose. The result has been a bigger core group of readers and a growing group of younger readers that includes women and teenagers.

The feedback we have gotten from people in the courses has been that the new orthography makes sense to them, and it is easy to use. There is apparently no confusion between what are consonants in English and are vowels in Natqgu. Though, occasionally new readers have a problem with the letter *r*, which is used both as an indigenous vowel and as a consonant in some English borrowings (i.e., Robert and Jerusalem). Even those who had learned the old orthography years ago were quick to learn and promote the new one after attending a workshop. So now with the new orthography, the group of people reading and writing the language is slowly growing, whereas before it had been minimal and static.

On several occasions older men literate in the old orthography, but who live some distance away, came to us concerned when they heard about the new letters. But **in every instance** after just five to ten minutes of teaching they were able to read the new orthography, and left feeling good about it. Others have made the transition independently with just a one-page handout delineating the correspondences.

Chart 2. Natqgu phonological orthographic inventory

Vowels: *a c e i o q r u x z*

Consonants: *b d g (j) k l m n p s t v w y*

The [j] sound occurs in one of the twelve Natqgu dialects and is easy for all speakers to pronounce in English borrowings.

Consonants used in English borrowings: *h j r*

We have also found that people can identify h-initial English borrowings better if the *h* is written, even though there is no phonemic distinction between [h] and glottal stop in Natqgu. For example, both hammer and honey are English borrowings which had been written *ama* and *ane*. Since these could also be Natqgu words, it made comprehension difficult. But once the change was made to *hama* and *hane*, comprehension and fluency improved.

The Growing Response

In the two and a half years since its introduction, the new orthography continues to be well received. In May 1996, a group of eighty-two local leaders met to discuss and agree on ways they could advance literacy and Scripture-in-use on the island. As a result, weekly reading groups started meeting at three of the four Anglican churches in the population center. A handful of people are helping with song writing and reviewing Scripture. A priority was given to the production of easy reading books, and the translation team agreed to produce a Natqgu worship songbook. Two local sixth grade teachers have very recently started teaching students to read Natqgu in their classes. And finally, about twenty leaders participated in a Natqgu teacher's course to equip them to teach a few people at a time in their homes.

It would be difficult to conclusively prove that the recent spark of community interest is due in large part to the new orthography. But I am convinced that this is so. The current interest and support, small as it is, is the greatest it has been in the history of the project. I trust it will continue.

The Personal Face of Literacy

Patricia M. Davis

Patricia Davis is an international literacy consultant for the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). Dr. Davis received her B.A. degree in elementary education from Dallas Baptist University, her M.A. in foreign language education, and her Ph. D. in Education from the University of Texas at Austin. She served for twenty years in Peru with the Machiguenga people. Dr. Davis is the coauthor and coeditor of the book, Bilingual Education: An experience in Peruvian Amazonia, *and author of the book,* Cognition and Learning.[1]

"I want to continue learning. As long as I live I hope to keep on. And I would like to take more courses. If I do not die, and as long as there is money, I will keep on buying books and learning." (Father, House 18, Puerto Haullana)

If we think of literacy only as an abstract object, we fail to appreciate its impact in people's lives. The following accounts illustrate the significant changes reading skill has brought to individuals of the Machiguenga language group.

From rubber gatherer to civil registrar

In December of 1992, retired bilingual teacher Andrés Vicente P. of the Machiguenga language group[2] sat down at his desk in the Camisea Civil Registrar's Office, took up his ball-point pen and proceeded to create a word picture. Professor Vicente had been born in the remote headwaters of a small stream where no one had ever heard of paper or pencils. Now he wrote:

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[1] Editor's Note: The following article is an excerpt from *Literacy Acquisition, Retention, and Use: A Case Study of the Machiguenga of the Peruvian Amazon.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms. 1994.

[2] The Machiguenga, an ethnolinguistic group variously estimated to number between 8,000 to 12,000, belong to the Arawak language family and inhabit the remote eastern slopes of the Andean foothills in the southern jungle of Peru.

> When I was a child, I used to go to the jungle with my father for a week at a time to extract the milk of the rubber tree. Everyone worked [for the *patrón*] ... Mr. Torres was good; he did not give us much heavy work. The men could work in groups, taking their time until they had large quantities of resin. Then they would be asked to take it to the mouth of the stream. That was when they suffered intensely because in summer the stream was very low. The loaded canoe could not pass and would have to be pushed. They would strain and push until they arrived and could deliver the cargo to the *patrón*. I remember I was still little; I must not have been more than seven years old.

Shortly after this time, Professor Vicente was able to attend the first bilingual school. Eventually, he learned enough to train as a teacher. Now, after completing high school and twenty-seven years of service to the Ministry of Education, his world is greatly expanded. When asked what he read and wrote, he compiled the following list, in writing.

What I read

1. New Testament
2. pamphlets
3. stories and legends
4. information about herbal cures
5. Spanish texts (primary and high school)
6. books about family life
7. material about the Christian life
8. world atlas
9. newspapers, when available
10. statutes of the community
11. Constitution of Peru
12. many other things

What I write

1. letters in Spanish
2. business letters re: sports, district council affairs, community affairs, community bylaws
3. civil birth register
4. civil death register
5. letters in Machiguenga (friendly letters and business letters)
6. copies of laws, Bible verses, excerpts from books, other things I want to learn or remember

What I wrote when I was director of a bilingual school

1. business letters:
    - letters of coordination
    - letters requesting leave
    - letters to Shell Oil Company
    - letters to and for the Machiguenga *Central*
    - letters to CEDIA[3] setting up meetings
    - letters to other communities
    - invitations to sports events
2. decrees
3. petitions
4. school attendance records, evaluation records, and reports
5. lessons and lesson plans

Professor Vicente's account is representative of the experience of many others. They also speak with earnest intensity about the value of literacy.

The institutionalization of reading and writing

Upon my first visit to Machiguenga-land in 1963, fledgling school and church groups provided the only institutionalized support for reading. In 1992, I was surprised to find the following entities in each Machiguenga bilingual school community (unless an exception is noted). The impetus for most of the newer organizations has come from the people themselves without direct pressure from outsiders of which I am aware, although a general sense of need for coping strategies and a desire to identify with the majority society frequently are indirect factors. The pride obvious as people told me of the ways they had organized led me to interpret the new structures as indication that the Machiguenga people are quick to take note of ideas which they deem are useful and to adapt the models for their purposes.

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[3] CEDIA is a regional community development organization.

The institutions which now exist in each community

1. a school which is part of the government school system
2. a church affiliated with the incorporated Machiguenga Evangelical Church
3. a health post where records are kept, signs posted, and medications with directions are dispensed (These health posts operate under an agreement with the Ministry of Health.)
4. a general assembly (organized in about 1990 in accordance with the Law of Native Communities with the help of CEDIA, a regional community development organization.) Since all villagers are expected to take an active part in the administration of their community, attendance at General Assembly meetings is required for adolescents and adults, and roll is called.
5. a parent's association for the primary school. If a secondary school also is located in the community, a separate parent's association is convened to handle secondary school affairs.
6. a men's sports club. If a secondary school is located in the community, the secondary school also organizes men's and women's teams for soccer and volleyball as part of the physical education program. Inter-community tournaments, with the appropriate written invitations and ceremonies, are convened. Adult women play on teams but tend not to be formally organized.
7. a mother's club (with the exception of Camaná). This organization supports the men on their community work days by

preparing a noon meal and has taken responsibility for the building and maintenance of village streets. Projects in support of the school like snacks for the children may also be undertaken.

8. a church general assembly
9. a church women's league.

Each of these organizations meets monthly in official session. A panel of elected officers president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and one or two delegates from the community presides over the meetings. A written agenda is prepared on a chalkboard at the front of the assembly room and items are erased as they are handled. The secretary keeps and reads official minutes. The treasurer keeps written financial records and may put the monthly report on the chalkboard. Because of the number of organizations now functioning, most of the villagers at one time or another have a turn serving as an elected officer, with closer exposure to written records.

Although the organizations and the meetings themselves are based on Western innovations, a participant observer sensed that they have been adapted to Machiguenga cultural needs where group consensus is a high value and form a unique and satisfying part of village life. Seating patterns (men in front, women and children at the back and around the sides, or families together) reflect traditional visiting patterns. As information is given from the podium, a dialogue often develops between the speaker and an elder (or elders), who acts as a spokesperson for the assembled public a traditional feature of Machiguenga formal speech. Women, who normally remain silent, nevertheless wax eloquent on matters about which they feel strongly, often in the high-pitched whining style used when problems are being aired in the home. Monthly meetings accommodate to the patterns of this face-to-face, event-oriented society by carefully including all matters relating to village life so that all may be informed. As a result, meetings are very long (frequently six to eight hours). The social value of these meetings is high: news is shared, marriages are approved, field space is allotted, and tensions are aired. As well, the community must come to agreement on budgets, school needs, work projects, coordination between community, school, and church schedules, discipline cases (when these arise), preparation for special events (such as hosting a soccer tournament or an anniversary celebration), and how to respond to notices and requests from government and other outside entities. At the end of the meetings—at least in the well-managed communities where I observed—one can sense relief (everyone is tired of sitting), satisfaction (at knowing about and having dealt with current issues), a strong consciousness of again being in control of community affairs, and sometimes apprehension (if difficult inter-personal problems still linger or a matter such as a threat to their retention of land titles is still unresolved).

Increasingly noticeable in recent years, perhaps as a result of their increasing self-government, has been the Machiguengas' increasing self-esteem and sense of their right to make their own decisions. On a 1990 visit I remember asking three young adults how the Machiguenga people feel about single-family communal houses. I was asking, I explained, because SIL members had come under criticism for imposing this change in cultural patterns, although I had no knowledge of team members ever suggesting it. The indignation of my respondent's response was startling, "Why don't people **ask us** before they write this stuff? We **like** to live in single-family dwellings; with fewer people there is less inter-personal tension."

Each community has had a store, although with the present economic crisis, the stores have fallen upon hard times and are temporarily closed. Two communities, however, still oversee the operation of sawmills and rice hullers donated for the use of all Machiguenga villagers. These continue to involve the people in measuring, weighting, counting and managing money, and have required ongoing record keeping, the training of operators, and the appointment of supervisors who keep the books and report back to the general assembly.

In addition to the above, at least four communities have also formed Pro-CONCODE committees, whose mission is to apply for government grants offered for specific purposes, such as the building of schools and clinics and to oversee the use of the money.

Most communities now have civil registrars who record births and deaths and provide birth certificates. In 1992 for the first time, teams of military registrars were sent to key villages to provide military inscription services for the Machiguenga. Also for the first time in 1992, polling booths were set up in one central location, thus enabling many to vote who could not travel to the cities.

In 1975 the Machiguenga bilingual school communities of the Lower Urubamba formed an agricultural cooperative which has changed with the times to become the Machiguenga *Central*, a central organizing body. Each of the bilingual school communities in the area belongs to the *Central*, and sends a delegate to its yearly general assembly. A *Central* executive committee—composed of a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and a delegate from each community—is elected each year at the general assembly meetings. This executive committee is active in handling formal business with government entities and all affairs which affect the Machiguenga bilingual school communities of the Lower Urubamba as a group. After the general assembly meetings of the *Central* a report of the proceedings is sent to member communities, and this report is then presented in the village meetings. The *Central* Executive also visits communities to disseminate information and sends written communications as the need arises.

Group custom

Letter writing is now a common practice among the Machiguenga, as well as the writing of formal invitations to special events. People draw designs on T-shirts and other articles of clothing and also label their clothing by writing their name on an inside seam. One young father who left the community to work and was tragically murdered under dubious circumstances is reported to have been identified by the name written on the inside of his shirt cuff, even though his documents had been stolen. Public signs—both in Machiguenga and Spanish—are in use everywhere, particularly around the health posts, churches, and town halls. Private citizens keep records of bills owed, and church-goers write notes on occasion, either in preparation for a service or to remember verses and important points of a lesson. Preachers illustrate their sermons with annotations on the chalk board. Bible reading is carried on privately in many homes. At times letters are written on walls or are carved on plants and gourd pots. (Some of the writing appears to have originated with young children who were practicing their letters while at play, but one wall boasted elegant Old English calligraphy as part of a chalk-drawn mural.) Mothers frequently mentioned that they help their children with school work, and students can be seen doing their homework. People also pore over new writings that come to their hands, both singly and in groups. Villagers store birth certificates with care—often in lengths of hollowed-out bamboo—and take pains to understand the written instructions on their medicine bottles. Although nonliterates can still function quite comfortably in the society, it is interesting to note that in bilingual school communities virtually every nonliterate person has a literacy mediator, i.e., someone to whom he or she goes when there is a need to understand print, write a letter, or buy and sell with cash.

Attitudes towards change

How do the Machiguenga feel about these changes in their society? The man who in 1993 was treasurer of the *Central* of Machiguenga Native Communities and coordinator of the Machiguenga Evangelical Church presented me with the following written list which captured in essence most of the commentary gleaned in our house-to- house interviews:

1. Positive consequences of education
    a) community organizations
    b) an ecclesiastical organization
    c) judicial organization (which includes a lieutenant governor, police chief, and police constable)
    d) Machiguenga students enrolled in higher education
    e) Machiguenga men who have served their country in the military
2. Negative consequences of education
    a) new ideologies (including communism)
    b) strife between organizations
    c) pride in knowledge

d) abandonment of traditional culture

e) rejection of the language and ethnic identity

f) materialism (desire for luxuries, things, money)

g) substitution of Western music for traditional music

h) an exodus of young men to work for *mestizo patrones*

(Díaz, January 1993)

The concerns expressed by Díaz were echoed by villagers during our interviews. "Sometimes a student leaves school, goes to work far away, and he stays away. In vain they say to him, 'Live here; think about your studies.' Sometimes this is what happens; they become proud" (Father, House 16 Camaná). Interestingly, despite their recognition of and concern about the negative side effects of education, villagers did not blame the school for them. "Sometimes a young person will go off, but in the case of my son it was his decision, not because of the school" (Father, House 41, Camaná). "Some don't finish—they go off to work lumber . . . Some get tired of it and start having boy-girl affairs. They don't think straight—they need to settle down and finish. But it is not the school's fault. The school is good" (Brother, House 38, Puerto Huallana). "Some teachers are not training their students as well as the old teachers did. There is a lack of discipline and good counsel. [But] it is the student's fault. They are the ones who do not listen and cooperate even when they are taught and counseled" (Father, House 27, Chokoriari).

Villagers recognize that young people have legitimate needs, even as they complain that some are too greedy. "Young people no longer want to dress in the traditional clothing . . . That's why they go down stream to work. They want blankets, shoes, plates, pots . . . " (Father, House 40, Puerto Huallana). Community members distinguish between those who leave to work temporarily in order to earn money for basic necessities and for schooling and those who have abandoned their people. A retired teacher summarized the prevailing attitudes thus: "The school is an institution. An institution is neutral. It is people—teachers and students—who do good and bad, and they do it by their choice" (Father, Nueva Luz).

Although individual families voiced great sorrow over their sons' absence, the exodus is not large. We were able to count fewer than twenty young adults who seemed to be permanently lost to their people.

I found it encouraging that many people were aware of difficulties which they faced as a result of increased contact with the majority society, and that rather than taking a fatalistic view they were proactive—within the limitations of their situation—in seeking to ameliorate problems. A conference convened with regional authorities in 1991, for example, resulted in additional economic help and the provision of military inscription services and electoral polls for the first time.

Discussion

The Machiguenga are now moving from primary oracy (Ong 1982) to secondary oracy (speech supported with written materials). More than that, they are developing what Heath calls "the sense of being literate," that is, "the ability to exhibit literate behaviors" which include comparing, sequencing, arguing with, interpreting, and creating extended chunks of spoken and written language in response to a written text (Heath 1991:3). Examples—in addition to the school-related tasks required of both teachers and students—include reports issued to all villages by the Machiguenga *Central*, the monthly meetings of community organizations in which the agendas written on the blackboard are discussed point by point and minutes are kept, health posters which elicit questions and comments, instructions for medications, bills for the health post, saw mill, and store, regular church meetings, Bible studies, and correspondence (both business and personal). Certain key individuals who have been involved in cotranslating and coediting the Machiguenga New Testament and Old Testament portions have had extended experience in editorial processing. Their families and communities have observed these events and have helped read preliminary versions of the translation to check for comprehensibility.

These uses of literacy serve a dual function. They provide many individuals instrumental reasons for learning to read and for maintaining the skill. They also give practice in analyzing, categorizing, interpreting intent, following written instructions, doing numerical calculations, and managing records. Skills such as these are important to success in school.

The Machiguenga were emphatic in their appreciation of literacy. This salient impression overshadowed all others: the Machiguenga love to learn. They learn not just for pragmatic reasons but for the joy of learning. We would ask, "Why do you say reading is good?" Time and again the answer came back, "It is good for knowing things." In the villages, any time a new skill is demonstrated or a new idea is presented, an interested crowd gathers. As we interviewed, someone in almost every village expressed an interest in continuing adult education, and many adults lamented both their lack of opportunities to study and the shortage of post-school reading materials. The majority of those interviewed (85.4 percent) expected to continue reading and writing in Machiguenga and 68.7 percent expected to continue in Spanish as well. Literate Machiguengas also express their satisfaction for having become part of their nation and the world (Purves 1987:229). "If there had not been a school, I would not know now. Now I can write, add, study, read what the newspapers say, and understand a little Spanish. It was not like this long ago" (Father, House 18, Puerto Huallana).

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Report on the AILA 1996 Congress

Submitted by Ian Cheffy, Cameroon Branch of SIL

The Eleventh World Congress of Applied Linguistics organized by the *Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée* (AILA) was held in Jyvaskyla, Finland from 4–9 August 1996. More than 1500 linguists from sixty-four countries were present, including many from Europe, the United States, and Japan. The African continent and the developing world in general were not well represented. Most of the participants were academic linguists from universities. SIL was represented by Ian Cheffy and Annie Pohlig (Cameroon) and Eddie Arthur (Côte d'Ivoire).

Several hundred syposia, open fora, round tables, and poster sessions were organized with a wide variety of topics including language planning, education in multilingual settings, teaching cross culturally, and psycholinguistics. The opening and closing plenary sessions were led by Winifred Crombie and Norman Fairclough.

In such a large gathering of people with such a diversity of interests, it was not easy to identify overall threads. Much of the emphasis of the Congress related to matters of concern in the West, but there was a clear value in SIL being involved, especially in drawing attention to the enormous linguistic needs and challenges in the developing world. AILA is keen to involve more linguists from Africa and Asia. It was valuable to interact with other linguists, many of whom have decided (though not necessarily negative) views of SIL. SIL should make its presence felt at conferences of this type so that its work can receive the attention it deserves. It is also beneficial for those within SIL to listen to what is being discussed within the more theoretical end of the academic community.

The next AILA Congress will take place in Tokyo in August 1999 with the theme, "The Role of Language in the Twenty-first Century: Unity and Diversity" (a theme which gives much opportunity for SIL involvement). The conference is likely to be of particular interest to SIL members working in Asia and the Far East. It is to be hoped that SIL will be evident not just by the presence of some members but also by members presenting papers on their work. It would be good for the conference to pay attention to the issues relating to the development of minority languages.

Announcements

Services available through Wycliffe Associates (UK)

The following is a letter from David Landin who is serving with SIL in the United Kingdom. I felt you, the reader, might find it useful and of interest. These services are available to SIL members only. —Ed.

Dear Colleague:

I am writing to let you know about a number of services which WA(UK) [Wycliffe Associates (United Kingdom)] makes available to SIL members. Most of these services are free, except where we need to purchase something for you. If we can help you, please don't hesitate to contact us!

Library research

We can obtain copies of most out-of-print or hard-to-find technical articles and books. These come from the massive British Library resources. There is a small charge of about $5 per item, plus postage, but this covers up to 50 pages of photocopying.

Bibliographic research

We have researchers who will find bibliographic references on virtually any topic, e.g. a language group, a linguistic topic ... just let us have the key words. This can tie up with the library research service. We can find the info. and you can then choose which references you want to look at. We can do similar keyword searches on the Internet. This has absolutely enormous resources on rare and esoteric topics.

Book purchasing and finding

We can purchase any in-print book and find many out-of-print books through our contacts with over 100 second-hand book dealers in the UK.

454

Translation to and from European languages

We can translate documents to and from most European languages, so if you come across an article you want to read but you don't know the language, contact us, we may be able to help.

Keyboarding of materials

We have about 500 volunteer keyboarders who will type up any material related to your work, and return it on disk in ASCII format. This is excellent for jobs which have been on "to do" lists for a while, but never seem to get done. We type up old Scripture materials produced b.c. (before computer). These Scripture materials are keyboarded twice and then proofread and compared on computer. This results in a very highly accurate final output.

News abstracts

We do a news abstraction service, which is sent on disk or e-mail to anyone who requests it. We can abstract on specific topics if these are requested. This service is under development.

Airport runs

We have a team of people who will take consultants and translators and other such worthies between London Heathrow, London Gatwick to Horsleys Green. There is a charge for fuel costs on the trip.

Purchasing

We can purchase any items requested, personal, technical, mechanical etc. We need an account number to charge, and full details of what is required.

All of the previously listed services can be obtained by contacting the WA (UK) office:

Barrie & Marie Wetherill
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37 Albert Road,
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Phone & Fax: International + 44 161 486 9379
CompuServe: 100410.3233@compuserve.com

We are "Working here... Helping there!"

Literacy Information On-line

The literacy department has been working on several resources for the Internet Worldwide Web. You can find interesting items in two areas:

General literacy information (http://sil.org/literacy/index.htm).

This page is the "home page" for SIL's literacy work. We include some links to organizations other than SIL that do literacy work, as well as links to copies of *Notes on Literacy*, *Literacy in the 90's*, and other literacy material. We hope soon to have information about specific positions open for literacy work with SIL.

LingaLinks Literacy Bookshelf (http://sil.org/lingualinks/library/literacy/ttlepg.htmlx).

The LinguaLinks Literacy Bookshelf, which includes several hundred pages of information on the "how-to's" of literacy work in developing countries, is available on compact disk and now on-line as well. Although this information, as with most web pages, is "under construction," there are still hundreds of pages of information and pictures.

Come by and "surf" our pages. Contact Vaughn.Ohlman@sil.org for more information.